

LIFELONG EDUCATION

*A Sketch of the Range and Significance
of the Adult Education Movement*

BY

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"SPIRITUAL VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION,"

"TOWARDS A FULL-GROWN MAN," ETC.



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TO
ARNOLD S ROWNTREE
AND
ERNEST E. TAYLOR

AUTHOR'S NOTE

THIS little book is indebted, as all who read it will perceive, to very many who have written on the subject and to all those working in this field with whom the writer has been privileged to come into contact. In particular, however, it owes a great deal to several of the author's friends who were kind enough to read and comment upon the brief outline submitted to them before the writing of the book was begun. When the manuscript had been drafted Miss Fanny Street, M A., Mr. Horace Fleming, M A, Professor H. J Laski, M.A., and Professor T. H Searls, M A, were good enough to read it and give the writer the benefit of their criticisms and suggestions, but for nothing in the book is anyone but the author responsible.

B.A.Y.

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CHAPTER I

ON GROWING UP—AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

THE child is father of the man in ways far more subtle and certain than the makers of that old proverb suspected. The attention which scientists have paid during the last half-century to the characteristics of childhood and youth has yielded a rich harvest of precise knowledge which bears directly upon the problems of our lives as men and -women. Every year we spend more thought and a greater proportion of public money upon education. We believe in giving every child his chance, not only for his own sake, but also for the sake of the nation and the race.

Nevertheless we are sometimes tempted to desire that children might remain as they are. We find so much joy in their irresistible freshness and their irresponsible vitality. But also we may be inclined to agree with Wordsworth that

Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy

Some modern psychologists leave us with a dread of determinism, the notion that the older we grow the more completely we are in bondage to our own personal and racial past. On the other hand, whereas we covet for the coming generation a happier world than our own, economic and social conditions may seem to us to be steadily changing for the worse, and the burden of life's responsibilities becoming heavier.

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Fortunately the growing boy himself sees things quite otherwise. He is eager to grow up for the very reason that he will then be free. He will do as he likes, and not as he must. He will be the equal of those who now bear rule over him. He will come into a kingdom of his own. The most lively boy in an elementary school is often found to be longing for the last day of the term in which he becomes fourteen, so that he may "go to work." Likewise a secondary or public school boy pictures to himself the joys of undergraduate life or the adventure of starting in business. Probably neither has any clear idea of what he wants to do. The spirit of revolt is in him. The glamour of the unknown lures him. A natural, but often misinterpreted, passion for self-realization and self-expression is awakening.

Wise elders are disposed to smile indulgently when youth takes its fling and claims the right to answer for itself. These young people will settle down after a while, they say; this is just a passing phase. But they are only partly right. Young folk may gain balance and perspective, insight and self-control, as years increase, but they ought never to lose the love of freedom and the craving for responsibility. For these are the marks of a man. They are the distinguishing qualities of "adulthood." To be able to exercise them aright is to have grown up.

We know, on the whole, much less about adult human nature than we do about infancy and adolescence. This may be because students of psychology and sociology have in our own time been concerned so largely with the abnormal—with neurotic or degenerate rather than healthy individuals, and with conflict rather than co-operation between classes and nations. Yet we have made a sufficient number of discoveries about personality and society to reveal the delicate intricacy of their structure. We are consequently and rightly more reluctant to dogmatize. We find it increasingly difficult to set down in black and white the precise capacities, and the degree of their development, by which primitive man may be distinguished from his ancestral cousin the

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ape, civilized man from primitive, and among civilized men the complete (if there are such) from the partially grown

To begin with, every human being is so many-sided; each of us, William James said, is really several selves in one. How are we to determine which should be supreme? Where are we to look for the evidence that any individual has the right to say "When I was a child. . . . Now that I am become a man"? The contents of a daily newspaper, the variety of subjects dealt with in any of the series of cheap popular manuals now so much in demand, the list of faculties in a university, or indeed any man's contact with his neighbours for a single day of our common life, will show how widely we differ in our notions as to what life either is or is for. How can there be a common aim, or any universally accepted measure of our progress towards the achievement of that aim?

We may reasonably suggest, however, that freedom and responsibility are the two foci about which the life of men at its finest and fullest revolves. All other aspects of our experience will be found to be related to these, though perhaps not reducible to either the one or the other. Certainly the history of humankind shows men always and everywhere striving to attain some new independence in thought or action, always and everywhere undertaking fresh and more formidable tasks. We find an endless succession of instances in every phase of life—industry and the arts, politics and domestic affairs, war and peace, morality and religion. So the dreams and the insurgence of youth are but the prophecy of these more fully matured characteristics in the man. When we follow the footsteps of the growing boy we arrive at no melancholy prison-house. We come to a palace in the making. Rousseau was wrong when he wrote the epigram which so many revolutionaries have accepted at its face value—"Man was born free, and is everywhere in chains." It would be truer to say that every child of man is born in bondage, but destined for that freedom which cannot be his till he is full-grown,

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and which can be won only through some service that to him is perfect freedom.

The youngster's first thought is to fling off the shackles of authority. Freedom to him means escape. But neither the young man who has just attained his majority nor the slave newly emancipated has yet achieved fullness of life. General Armstrong, after the American Civil War, "asked himself what he could do to help the race he had fought to free." The result was Hampton College, which opened the door of higher education, and consequently of more complete and effective citizenship, to American negroes. There is something in us that remains unsatisfied by the mere absence of restraints. We must be free to create. We must needs rule in a kingdom that we have carved out for ourselves, however small that kingdom may be. We are all by nature poets—makers of something new and, in our own eyes at least, beautiful. Economic, social, political or religious freedom is real only when those who claim it have some clear constructive purpose before them. The quondam slave must be finding his place and playing his part as a normal citizen. Youth must be working out a career, building character, committed to an adventure as artist or artisan, teacher, politician or, more probably, as several of these at once. In all things the mind of the free man must be constantly on the march, his spirit always pioneering.

Mr. Bertrand Russell and Professor Santayana, though otherwise poles asunder in their philosophies, both seem to suggest that freedom of the spirit is much the same thing as final disillusionment. For most of us, however, such an ideal is cold and lifeless. "The last of life, for which the first was made" is not dispassionate contemplation, but the power to create something which we can look upon and see that it is good, the ability to respond to other creative personalities and find satisfaction in the harmony between their purposes and our own. If we are told by thinkers of quite another type that freedom is but a figment for the mass of mankind so long as the present economic system is maintained,

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and that in any event everything is to be explained by the material basis of life, we find them also, in due course, assuming "man's power to will to act." Thus Mr. J. S. Clarke in *Marxism and History* repudiates the idea that Marx, in his Materialist Conception of History, taught economic determinism, and he himself asserts that "Man, therefore, can retard or accelerate the movement of history according to the extent and power of his ability, energy, genius—call it anything you like." The "emancipation of the working classes" in truth depends, not upon kindling resentment into revolution, but upon developing in the whole community that creative freedom of mind and spirit which is able to remould the sorry scheme of things nearer the heart's desire.

For human freedom is essentially social. No man can be free all by himself. A Robinson Crusoe may think he can but even then Man Friday appears, and adjustments have to be made. Moreover, for purely biological reasons a society of three at least—father, mother and child—is necessary, or the species dies out. Philosophically the solitary individual, while he may be free from opposition or restraint on the part of other individuals, cannot be certain how he would act in relation to the other members of even that minimum society, if he found himself within it. Until he is certain, he cannot claim possession of that real freedom which is mastery of himself in all circumstances. It is true that the liberty of the subject, freedom of conscience and speech, and the right of private judgment have usually become crucial questions in Church and State because some individual like Galileo, Luther, or even the notorious John Wilkes, has put forward his personal claim. Yet, the more untrammelled in the expression of his ideals and purposes a man becomes, the greater is the necessity that he should recognize the justice of making what he himself values so highly a universal possession. Otherwise he must needs be an autocrat, little as he may desire it.

Personal freedom, therefore, involves an order of society in which men can choose for themselves not only what they will think and say, but what work they

will do and under what conditions, who shall govern them and upon what terms, where they will live and what recreations they will pursue, and so forth. Obviously they must surrender that unconditional freedom of choice sometimes, or internecine strife would result. But the surrender, like submission to the laws of Nature, is only apparent. In reality they exercise a higher freedom when they modify their desires, purposes and choices so that they may live in harmony with other free men, and thus achieve a common good, in itself greater and richer than any individual could attain by himself.

To one man or group economic freedom may seem at a given time more important than religious, to another social freedom more vital than political, while a third may be concerned chiefly with the triumph of free speculation over conventional creeds or scientific and philosophical theories. Still others may be waging a battle for truth and fearlessness in teaching either children or adults, or for the right to set the spiritual kinship of mankind above the narrower interests and prejudices of colour, race and nationality. It is clear, however, that none of us can do a day's work, join in an hour's play, or reflect for a few moments upon life as we experience it, without coming upon this demand for personal and social freedom as implicit in the thought and activity of all full-grown men and women.

Equally so is the acceptance of responsibility. That, as our independence-seeking youth soon discovers, is always the other side of the shield. Unless he has the misfortune of being born with a silver spoon in his mouth, he must earn his own bread and butter. He must in any case make his own friendships and fight his own battles. His personal freedom is in itself a responsibility. For not only will his use of it shape his own character, do much to settle what his circumstances shall be, and determine very largely his own happiness or wretchedness; but also whatever he is and does (or fails to be and do) must directly and indirectly affect many other lives. He may have no part in carrying on any industry, but he is a consumer of what others have produced. Politics

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may have no interest for him: perhaps "on principle" he never votes at an election. but his abstention, and that of others like him, may easily turn the scales between alternative policies of tremendous importance for himself and everybody else. Probably he is "no student," or "never goes to Church": yet his lack of knowledge, judgment, or moral sensitiveness (neither of which things, of course, necessarily results from attendance at either classes or churches) may work out in difficulty or tragedy for other people. Certainly as soon as he takes up a trade, enters a profession, or establishes a home, his responsibilities multiply at a rate which might cause him to question whether he was not losing all his freedom, did he not know that they are the outcome of his exercise of that freedom, enriching his life even more than they burden it.

When philosophical and political thought received a new impetus in England during the eighteenth century much stress was laid upon the relationship between rights and duties. The words suggest much the same elements in human life as freedom and responsibility, but they are more legal and moralistic. The question that concerns us now, however, is not how best to describe these factors in our personal and corporate life, but rather how we may give effect to what we have learned. Once more, as in the time of the Greek city-states, the days when Rome was ruled by "senate and people," or the period of the mediæval Italian republics, a democratic age has come upon the world. Democracy as we know it, though still far from perfect, has advanced beyond anything that these forerunners of it dreamed or dared. In theory at least, the leisure, culture and power of those who share it are not made to rest upon the servitude and toil of a slave-class, regarded as without natural rights or normal capacities. Democracy in our day is indeed a more difficult and dangerous venture than before. But the justification of it lies where its dynamic lies, in the belief that all men should be free and responsible. It is rightly held to be the basis of the good life (for which, Aristotle said, the

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State exists) only in so far as individuals find their fulfilment and happiness in the exercise of these twin powers for social ends.

One of the chief discoveries that our own generation is making, moreover, is that national life cannot safely be governed by a set of principles completely divergent from those accepted by individual men and women as desirable and right for themselves. Nations are subject to the same tests of growth and maturity as men. They demand freedom and responsibility for themselves and must needs concede these to one another, or suffer the cataclysm which shook civilization to its foundations in the World War

Do nations grow up? We speak of child races. Without of necessity accepting theories of the "group-mind" which would attribute super-personality to a people, we may yet apply to group life, whether that of a nation or that of its component parts racially or industrially considered, the same considerations as we have applied to the development of a man. We find here too the same notes of challenge and aspiration, natural to the youth of a nation, growing stronger and deeper in its maturity.

Even beyond the nation, in the race and in human society at large, the same conceptions will be found to hold good, without involving us in a false application of biological terms to social phenomena. Progress, growing up, the attainment of higher levels in all the varied aspects of living, must depend upon the same two fundamental factors. Development is a process of eliciting and combining them. "We are apt to forget," says Professor Julian Huxley in *Religion Without Revelation*, "that the world is really growing up. Man as an organism is still a young species, and civilization, if we date it from the twin discoveries of metal-working and agriculture, is a mere day in the biological centuries. But so rapid, during that negligible period of less than ten thousand years, has been the evolutionary advance made possible by speech and tradition and the other new properties of the human organism, that

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we are now justified in saying that civilized man is in his adolescence, and has the chance of attaining maturity."

It is one thing, however, to recognize the existence of these dynamic forces, whether in the individual, in the group, or in the race. It is quite another to experience their action and interplay. For they bring with them a sense of limitation and inadequacy. One's first attempts to exercise a new-found freedom invariably issue in mistakes, sometimes trivial, sometimes fatal. It may be true that the man who never makes mistakes never makes anything. We take that adage as our consolation in the early stages of our endeavours. But we find that though our average of successes improves, our liability to failure does not cease. Our powers outrun our knowledge, our wisdom, our tact, our creative imagination. Perhaps, like Frankenstein, we make a monster that we cannot control. Certainly we find that, however well our projects might fare if we alone had the direction of things, they come to grief because we have not reckoned with the aims and actions of other people, or have miscalculated them.

In the same way we prove unequal to the responsibilities which we have readily assumed, or which devolve upon us in the nature of things, whether we welcome them or not. We discover that we lack skill or insight, initiative or staying power, information or intelligence. Capacity and willingness we may possess, but our training is incomplete, our resources fall short of our purpose.

Detailed illustrations are unnecessary. We all of us have known the disappointing and disillusioning moment when, rejoicing that at last we are masters of the situation so far as all external restraints are concerned, conscious that a great opportunity of doing the fine thing in the fine way has come to us, we realize that we are not inwardly free, we have not the disciplined strength to discharge our responsibility. From Shakespeare to Shaw our dramatists have rung the changes on this theme. Galsworthy's *Soames Forsyte* and Hardy's

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Mayor of Casterbridge are instances of the way in which our novelists repeat the warning

The position is made clearer still by events in the story of a movement or a nation. President Wilson failed to carry his conviction into practice when the Treaty of Versailles was being framed because he had misread the mind of his own people, but even more because that people had not thought out the practical application of its cherished idealism. The events leading up to the World War itself reveal now, as we examine them more quietly and dispassionately than was possible while they were carrying us away as with a flood, a series of hopeless mutual misunderstandings, as well as a fatal mistrust, between the nations. There was literally no nation that was guiltless of blunders, or that rose to the height of its moral and spiritual responsibilities when the crisis came, whatever individuals may have done. And since then the same kind of thing has happened in the less dramatic sphere of industry, where bitterness, loss, and reaction have proved the fruit of failure on both sides to use well the freedom each had, and to discharge the responsibility which each not only admitted but claimed. The worst weakness of all has been exhibited in one crisis after another by "the public" which, in all countries alike, has proved incapable of making up its own mind on matters of life and death to itself, thus falling victim to the experts whom, as Professor Laski tells us in his *Grammar of Politics*, it ought to know how to use, and following blindly the demagogues of platform and Press who know too well how to delude it into the belief that it is acting in a free and responsible manner when it is but dancing to their piping.

So it is that we find out, to our cost and chagrin, that neither individually nor socially have we really grown up. As Sir J. H. Jeans, Secretary of the Royal Society, says in his Trueman Wood Lecture, "We are standing at the first flush of the dawn of civilization, and are terribly inexperienced beings" Infantilisms appear—fear, selfishness, captivity to things seen and handled,

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vanity, and the rest. We are baffled by commonplace problems, defeated by the demands of the unfamiliar. Freedom becomes an edged tool in our careless or unskilful hands, so that we do damage to ourselves and to all who come near us. Responsibility proves our undoing. As Professor Leonard Nelson argues in *Politics and Education*, democracy may be our downfall because we have not learned either to choose our leaders wisely or to follow them with loyalty and understanding when we have chosen them.

In saying this we assume that the love of freedom and the acceptance of responsibility are widespread, if not universal, among the men and women who make up the population of any modern civilized nation. Therein lies one of our colossal errors of judgment. The conditions of industry, with its monotony of work and poverty of recompense, have made seven-tenths of the manual workers in Britain or Germany, France or America, completely apathetic in the matters to which we have been referring. The dullness of their occupation and the deadly uniformity, if not sordidness, of the places where they live can scarcely fail to drive them to seek relief in the excitement of games which they watch but do not play, cinema films by which they are thrilled but not stimulated æsthetically or intellectually, sensational papers which they ridicule and yet believe. Professor Ernest Barker rightly declares, in his Stevenson Lectures, that the mechanization, and even brutalization, of life by modern industry is a supreme danger to national character.

Nor is one section of the community alone in peril. Mr. Tawney, in *Religion and the Rise of Modern Industry*, has shown us how the Puritan virtues of thrift and devotion to one's calling degenerated into the vices of commercialism. People who do not work with their hands are none the less liable to be caught up by the materialism and the competitive rush of our industrial age. They have neither time nor disposition, in many instances, to do more than maintain their place in business and keep the conventionalities of social life

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going. It is as hard to sustain a repertory theatre, a series of promenade concerts, or classical opera in London as it is to fill churches or sell serious books and journals. Pleasure must be pure excitement if it is to satisfy these folk. Politics, domestic or foreign, leave them unmoved, except in the heat of a Parliamentary election, which tends after all to be more of a good prize fight between parties than a reasoned attempt to express the considered judgment of the country upon politics. Industrial disputes and social crises to them are frankly mere occasions for the expression of class interests and prejudices. How can life on that level be regarded as an exercise of either freedom or responsibility?

These things may result in open conflict. They make for that crass ignorance and culpable narrowness of outlook which keep alive the notion that "what you gain I lose," and vice versa. They actually conceal and cherish injustices which common sense would expose and destroy. They are the fruitful, irritant sources of malignant disease in the body politic. The less we are conscious of them the more, like repressions and complexes in the individual personality, they work desperate mischief. There is in fact something like a vicious circle between our experience as separate persons and our experience as communities. These evil conditions in our environment intensify the abnormal tendencies in ourselves which cripple our personal freedom and devitalize both our sense of responsibility and our power to discharge it. These disastrous failings in ourselves, on the other hand, increase the servility and irresponsibility of society. Such weaknesses become evident only as we seek to express our innate passion for freedom, and to claim our conscious right to a share in responsibility. The divided mind, a society at war within itself, must be the inevitable results. India and China at the present time afford illustrations in one sphere as economic and social conditions within Great Britain or America do in another.

It is not unnatural that pessimism, quietist or activist, should tend to spread. Spengler's *Decline of the West*,

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with its theory that each great civilization in turn arises as a revolt, flowers in a characteristic culture, hardens into a civilization, and finally perishes of rigidity, met with an amazingly favourable reception when it was first published in Germany. It was greeted by many thoughtful people in other countries as a sound, if sad, interpretation of history. The Materialist Conception of History propounded by Karl Marx was more crude in principle, arguing that since the economic upper dog is indisputably the more powerful at present, he must continue his ruthless assault to a yet more savage degree until at last he provokes the whole animal world into turning and rending him, but it has been accepted by thousands of "the proletariat" as both sound economics and stirring gospel, albeit only Russia has put it to the proof. Neither Mr Galsworthy nor Mr. H. G. Wells, the one with the flawless mirror of a dispassionate irony, the other with the whips and scorpions of indignation and sarcasm, has been able to suggest to us anything but a despair of ourselves. Acquiescence and revolution appear to be the alternatives open to us.

Yet experience brings a deeper desire for a unified, purposeful, disciplined, enriched life. We range ourselves under the banners of the Julian Huxleys rather than with the Spenglers. Just because freedom and responsibility are the poles of our moral universe we cannot believe that the deserts in which for the time being we have lost our way, or the raging seas which threaten imminently to engulf us, are all that our world contains. We know there is something more satisfying if we can but make our way to it. Even those terrible and devastating elements have their place and their significance in an ordered and harmonized world, obedient to law and therefore more wonderful in its possibilities of happiness. We begin to seek quality in living—more life and fuller.

Here then lie the springs of the adult education movement, which is democratic in its inspiration, born of a devotion to the ideals of freedom and responsibility, forced into existence by the faith of men and women in

knowledge as the mother of understanding and thus of creative enjoyment. Men and nations are turning to the quest for a more truly conceived freedom, exercised more harmoniously and working more effectively upon all the material resources at our command, as well as through the intellectual and spiritual capacities of human nature. They desire to know how they can develop fully the freedom which is becoming recognized as the prerogative of maturity, and how they may properly fulfil the responsibilities of which they grow more conscious. Thus beneath the apparent shortsightedness, strife, materialism, and, on the other hand, the seeming triviality and superficiality, of the time there is what William James might have called the will to grow up, the faith that Browning voiced through the lips of his Rabbi Ben Ezra.

Grow old along with me!
 The best is yet to be,
 The last of life, for which the first was made
 Our times are in His hand
 Who saith, "A whole I planned,
 Youth sees but half, trust God see all nor be afraid!"

CHAPTER II

STUDENTS ALL—AND WHY

As a matter of course we grow out of many things quite natural to the child. We do not stop to think about it or to congratulate ourselves. Only when, to our surprise and mortification, we suddenly find that we are still in a stage out of which we know we ought to have passed long ago do we begin to ask what has happened to us, and why. Thus, individually, we are ashamed of a childish naiveté of mind, whereas we covet a childlike simplicity of spirit. Ignorance due to our not having lived long enough in the world to compass properly any particular field of knowledge is no cause for legitimate reproach, but a blatant and self-satisfied neglect or refusal to become a reasonably well-informed member of society is obviously a fault. So, again, in the larger life of the nation or the race, we account it no virtue that we "move upward, working out the beast, and let the ape and tiger die," but we are beginning to look upon resort to war, where conference and constructive statesmanship might have dealt adequately with the causes of misunderstanding and dispute, as sheer atavism. Slavery, which appeared so inevitable and so reasonable to Plato and Aristotle, as it did to many fine-spirited and large-hearted planters in the Southern States of America a century ago, is now reprobated by the conscience of the whole civilized world and practised only by subterfuge.

Looking, then, at contemporary life in the light of history, we are cheered by the reflection that many admitted evils and limitations from which men suffer are passing, and the necessity of devising means for removing them is temporary—is indeed unquestionably

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less than it used to be. Despite all the defects of current systems of elementary education, for example, the position and prospects of a child born into citizenship of any western country in these days are so immensely better than those of his great-grandfather that we scarcely appreciate how great an advance has been made. In Great Britain, at any rate, we are within sight of full-time education for all to the age of fifteen or sixteen, and of a great increase in the facilities for higher education given as a right of citizenship, independently of social status or financial circumstances, to those whose abilities and disposition warrant such cultivation. America has, from the beginning of her national existence, prided herself upon providing equality of educational opportunity for all her young citizens. France is unifying her primary and secondary systems of education, and beginning to make the complete course free. Similar advance is recorded in many other countries. Japan, for instance, has long opened a highway for the people "from nursery school to university."

Shall we not then grow out of the need for adult education—and perhaps sooner than we anticipate? Ought we not to avoid exaggerating the importance of it, and to recognize that it is a transitory social phenomenon, a medicine for a social weakness which we are rapidly overcoming rather than a part of "human nature's daily food"? Becoming conscious of our present need, as we find ourselves faced by the results of our inability to meet the problems involved in our democratic demands for freedom and responsibility, we are apt to look for a remedy in the extension of our educational provision for boys and girls. Secondary education for all, day continuation schools, more scholarships to our colleges and universities—all these are hailed as the way of salvation.

But, as Dr. R. W. Livingstone has forcefully argued in *The Edinburgh Review*, valuable as all these are, they will never of themselves give us an educated nation. There is a vital part of our education upon which we cannot enter until we are, in the customary sense of the term, grown up. Till then our powers are not

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sufficiently developed, nor is our experience of practical life sufficiently wide and actual, to enable us to "translate knowledge into wisdom." Adult education is not a hobby or a luxury. It is no fortunate invention for improving the manners and morals of the lower orders or the inferior races. Without it as a continuing element in the life of all of us, to whatever class or people we belong, we shall inevitably justify the pessimism of Spengler—or of Dean Inge. Some of us find it easier to pursue such education for ourselves, by means of books, music, social and intellectual contacts, travel, and so forth, while others need or prefer the more formal and also the more co-operative methods of the lecture-hall and the class-room. But this affords no evidence that any particular section of the population requires education less, or desires it more, than any other. If in our last chapter we have established anything at all, it is that the very nature of human life creates both the hunger and the necessity for what Professor Soddy has called "lifetime education."

Mr. Arthur Gleason, advocating the cause of workers' education in America, anticipated the arguments of possible objectors thus: "The answer is that the desire for adult education grows keener as elementary education is more widely spread and more thorough. A well-instructed group of workers, twenty-five years old, will be eager for adult education. An illiterate group, or a group numbed by drink, will be hostile to class-work. Also a group of half-educated youths, fed on dogmas and preconceived notions and picturesque phrases dealing with catastrophic changes and millennial hopes, will be superior to education, to careful analysis, to surveys of facts." Mr. Stanley Baldwin, addressing the students of Birkbeck College on "Self-Education" said "Many people tried to educate me, but the reaction was not always successful. A great part of my education took place after I had gone into business, on railway journeys and at odd moments, and for some years, when I was working all day, I would read nearly every night. This was the education, I feel, that did me most good."

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Actually, then, the weight of both evidence and logic is all the other way. We discover more, and not less, need of adult education as we make progress. It will not have a fair chance until better preparation is made for it during the years of adolescence. On the other hand, we are unlikely to achieve a thoroughly sound and complete system of primary and secondary education until the adult members of the community, by continuing their own education, realize how mischievous a thing it is to abbreviate or mishandle the school-education of boys and girls. But adult education, rightly interpreted, is as inseparable from normal living as food and physical exercise. Life, to be vivid, strong, and creative, demands constant reflection upon experience, so that action may be guided by wisdom, and service be the other aspect of self-expression, while work and leisure are blended in perfect exercise of body, mind and spirit, personality attaining completion in society. Scholars remind us that there is ample evidence in classical Latin authors of the way in which the word *educare* was used. It referred originally to the function of every nurse in seeing that her charges had proper food and exercise, so that they might develop a healthy and vigorous physique. By a natural transition the idea was applied to the process of mental growth. The needs we have indicated are universal and fundamental, incessant and lifelong. Interpreting adult education thus we must agree that we are by nature students all, however our appetites, our choice and resources of diet, and our opportunities and methods of exercise may differ.

For such reasons, then, adult education will never cease to be an essential part of healthy and progressive human life, nor will it ever be required only by the less intellectually, socially, or financially fortunate sections of the community. It may have its special value for this or that group as an aid to the realization of political or economic freedom, a resource for the pleasurable and profitable employment of leisure time, a means of gratifying personal tastes and ambitions, or an element in the attainment of mutual understanding between classes and

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nations But so long as it is held to be only an admirable plan for preserving the wayfaring man from the delusions of Bolshevism, or on the other hand a useful weapon in the class-war, it is hopelessly misconceived and mis-directed. If it is regarded as nothing more than a manner of "finishing" one's education, or an alternative to sensational and pernicious ways of finding amusement, it is completely travestied and emasculated. Above all, in so far as we individually or corporately advocate it because, unconsciously, we think it so good for other people while, perhaps more consciously, we consider ourselves beyond the need of it, we are merely indulging our common and fatally respectable Pharisaism.

There are indeed two reasons why adult education makes comparatively slow progress One is our contentment with the kind of education we possess the other is our suspicion of the kind that other people want These operate as effectively among "workers" as among "bourgeois" Their paralysing influence is evident no less among the advocates of "class-conscious," "impartial," or any other variety of adult education than among Universities and Local Education Authorities, rate and tax payers, or sensational journals, whether red, yellow, or blue They work havoc as freely in commercialized America, rationalized France, or complacent Britain as in Bolshevized Russia or Fascist Italy. We shall not be rid either of apathy or of cant in our attitude to adult education until we are more concerned about our own need of a richer and more liberal culture than about other people's Neither shall we understand the meaning of adult education until we realize that, though technical or commercial or university education must of necessity be only for some, adult education, like primary and secondary, should be for all.

At the outset, therefore, let us be clear that adult education is not a limited affair, as, for example, those would make it who think of it merely as workers' education. A sovereign specific against all such parochial-mindedness is the constant recollection that we are concerned with *people* all the time Philanthropy went

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wrong when it began to think and talk about "the masses" Mid-Victorian Capital roused deep resentment by first calling men "hands" and then treating them as such. Labour makes no less dire a mistake in using the term "workers" with too narrow and exclusive a reference. Mischief always follows failure to see the trees for the wood. Preoccupation with movements, organizations, and other manifestations of the herd-instinct, or efficiency-devices, make it difficult for us to look at any social situation in terms of men and women. One of the worst examples of this tendency is the way in which large classes have gone far to depersonalize elementary education, despite the magnificent efforts of many teachers. At all costs we must avoid similar disasters in the development of lifelong education.

Great teachers throughout the ages have gone about their business as though there were no such thing as a crowd. They were inspired, often enough, by a love of humanity or of their own nations at large, and they saw clearly universal defects and universal possibilities. Never were they sheer individualists, for they were too keenly aware that human life is a tissue of intricate relationships, every man being bound to his neighbour by the indissoluble ties of a manifold interdependence. The value of *esprit de corps*, the importance of the social sense, the might of corporate loyalties and common purposes, they knew and used. But their traffic was always with persons.

Such was Socrates, with his care for the life of Athens, and his love of the man in the street. He drew men's thoughts from the commonplace and the conventional to a quest for truth in its most profound and universal significance. Yet he always began in a friendly conversation, asking for a definition of some word carelessly used by a supercilious young scholar, or questioning some pet assumption underlying the talk of a shopkeeper or workman. No one was safe from the shafts of his irony. Everyone was a potential sage or statesman in his eyes.

Or again, to take a modern instance, A. L. Smith,

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Master of Balliol, wielded so amazing an influence at once in the academic world of Oxford and among trade-unionists or co-operators, not because he had a love of education in the abstract, but because he found every man or woman he encountered in some way or other an interesting person. Sympathy and practical common sense enabled him to see individual needs and desires where others perceived only types, so familiar as to attract no attention. The Master would have scorned to be didactic, and of the superior attitude he was incapable. But no one who came into personal contact with him could long escape a sense of ignorance and inadequacy which would have been crushing but that at the same time he imparted a sense of comradeship in the adventure of learning. There was always something that he was anxious to know, and that his companion of the moment was the very person to tell him, or to share with him the fascination of finding out.

While, however, the case for lifelong education rests ultimately upon the nature and needs of human personality in such a way that no individual can rightly be regarded as outside its scope, the social reasons for fostering it are as powerful as the personal. Only a few of these can here be cited by way of illustration, but many others will occur to readers from their special points of view as participants in the life and work of the everyday world.

For two or three generations the idea of leisure, regular and carefree, for all but a small and privileged part of the population, was regarded as ridiculous if not pernicious. Nowadays we are shocked by tales about exploitation of child labour which come to us from the newly industrialized East, forgetting that like conditions prevailed in the factories of England under the Georges, and that Defoe wrote enthusiastically of a visit to Lancashire that "he had not seen a thing above four years of age that was not capable of earning its living with its own hands." If small children were habituated to toil in that fashion, what of the older people? Yet in our own generation a comparative abundance of leisure

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among people of all classes seems likely to prove as devastating an influence upon thought and conduct as lack of it ever was. There is no need to expatiate upon the point. The fact remains that multitudes of men and women do not know how either to enjoy their hours of freedom from necessary work or to make these contribute to zest and creativeness in their work-time.

Dr. Ernest Barker, in *National Character and the Factors in its Formation*, suggests, with reason, that the monotony, sub-division, and often the sordidness, of the majority of industrial occupations make it pure and grim irony to say that a man should find joy and self-expression in his work. He can keep his soul alive, thinks Professor Barker, only by making more and more of his leisure—"the growing-time of the spirit." For that he must exercise all his faculties, and develop the power of stepping from the toil by which he earns his livelihood into a world wherein he can truly live. Such a view may be a little pessimistic, not so much with regard to the existing state of things as with regard to the possibility of changing it for a happier one. Certainly we need not interpret Professor Barker as meaning that the spirit of vocation can find no place in daily work under modern conditions. But we may well learn to look sanely at life as he does, and accept the truth he seeks to drive home—if only that we may be stirred to the endeavour to refashion the world in such wise that this truth may become less true. But obviously, if we are to believe, even with reservations, what he asserts, multitudes of those who must work for bread, and without whose work none of us would have food to eat or clothes to wear, must have adult education, or perish.

The newspaper Press, again, when the battle for the establishment of a democratic régime in England was at its height, was kept as far as possible out of the hands of the multitude. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century workmen would go a long way to hear a newspaper read, being unable either to purchase or to read it for themselves. If the contrary were not so patently

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true we should say now that the newspapers are at the service of everyone in the civilized world: but in fact the majority of people who can read are at the service of the very few who own the newspapers and control their policy—in certain cases securing prominence for their convictions or prejudices not only through the comments contained in leading and other articles, but also through the selection and treatment of news items and even of pictures. It would be a travesty of the facts to suggest that the Press is devoid of high purpose, and without devotion to truth or to the finest elements in human life. Perhaps never before were art, letters, science and religion given so large a place beside political, industrial and social affairs in its columns. The lamentable thing is that those newspapers which take the most fairminded view of events, whatever their political standpoint, and give most space to serious and cultural articles, find it hardest to secure even such a circulation as would ensure them against financial loss. As in the case of leisure, it would be superfluous to dwell upon what we all admit, partly in a vein of cynicism, partly in a spirit of angry helplessness. If the Press exerts undue influence both upon our personal outlook and upon public opinion, this is not only because our minds are undisciplined and unbraced, but also because we neither have, nor set ourselves to acquire, a fund of reliable and well-balanced knowledge, a criterion of sound judgment, from other sources. Whether, and how, a man can use newspapers, magazines and reviews is a test as much of his moral and spiritual quality as of his intelligence and alertness of mind. The Press, even as it exists, may be a valuable factor in the acquirement of lifelong liberal education. Everything depends upon the reader.

Public opinion, however, is not controlled, however deeply it is no doubt influenced, by the Press. It is compounded of tradition, group prejudice, the effect of prevailing leadership in all the great fields of public activity, the influence of popular books, plays and preachers, and a score of other factors. Mob-sentiment is too often confused with corporate conviction. Feeling in Great Britain at the beginning of the South African

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War of 1902 illustrates the one, as that which took possession of the country at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 does the other. Yet, whatever view we take of "mob-psychology," we must surely agree that there can and should be ordered and penetrating public thought on all great issues that affect our common well-being. If this is to be achieved it will never be through bare acceptance by the populace of authoritative pronouncements made, however gravely and wisely, by a handful of leaders, or by discussion in Parliaments, conferences and committees. It can come about only if every individual concerned can and does contribute what Professor Laski calls his instructed judgment. It is natural for the individual to set store by what "everybody says." He is diffident about setting himself up, in *Athanasius contra mundum* fashion, against public opinion. But the first business of the individual is to ask whether public opinion is, in any particular instance, informed, judicious, far-seeing, imaginative. If he wants to examine it in this way he must in some measure possess these qualities himself. If he finds it unworthy of acceptance he must seek, in all humility but with all firmness, to correct and redirect it, allying himself with any who have a similar contribution to make. What else is the meaning of freedom and responsibility?

"Public opinion" is at the root of more conflict, whether in the warfare of armed men or in the not less bitter and costly strife of strike and lock-out, than the worst of diplomacy and the most wretched or misguided leadership. The seeds of war are more often hidden in market-places, clubs, and other centres of civil life than in chancelleries and General Headquarters. War of all sorts bespeaks the failure, or lack, of education, and especially of adult education, as much as of religion. A public opinion which not only tolerates but actually creates it can live only in the absence of that knowledge and insight apart from which all action must be on the impulse of unchecked emotion.

Inasmuch as we are all involved, it becomes obvious that we all stand in need of a much wider and fuller lifelong education. One is reminded of the group of

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students who, early in the history of the Student Christian Movement, went into retreat to consider the social problem, and returned saying, "We are the problem!"

It is curious, again, to note that when men speak of ultimate things at all they so often manifest a credulity in matters of science directly proportionate to their scepticism in those of religion, and closely related to their unthinking readiness to embrace a materialistic philosophy of life. Probably, indeed, most men would smile at the notion that philosophy has anything to do with real life at all. They certainly would question the statement that every man has a philosophy and lives by it. Here we encounter a failure, which in some cases is a deliberate refusal, to think things through and to think them together. At a time when those who devote themselves strenuously and with fearless honesty to inquiry in these realms are telling us that the partitions between matter and mind, or spirit, are wearing very thin, and that, moreover, each seems to find completion only in the other, it is taken for granted by an extraordinarily large number of people that the final word about reality lies with science alone, and that this word is either agnostic or materialistic. The notion is due as much to an imperfect acquaintance with scientific thought as to the unexamined supposition that religion is both anti-scientific and rigidly dogmatic, or that philosophy is concerned only with endless refinements of speculation about academic abstractions. Yet unless men find freedom in the life of the mind and the spirit they will launch forth upon no great adventure and will undertake no burden of responsibility for the regeneration of social and industrial life, political thought and action, or the building of a world commonwealth. Here clearly is a great unrealized need for adult education.

Our need may largely be unconscious. The evidence of its existence is apt therefore to be, as we have said, derived from reaction against the defects of our common life. But on the positive side of our experience there is much to encourage us. The real demand for adult education is far more widespread than we generally suppose. We are deluded by the fact that the people

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who want it seldom perceive that what they are clamouring for is education at all. Indeed they heartily dislike the very word, associating it with all that is lifeless, prosy, intellectualist, remote from "the joy of life—the mere living."

Yet there is response to writers of fine books, actors of good plays, performers of great music, leaders in social and political reform, advocates of better international understanding, preachers of a living Gospel. The very love of sport, of exciting music, of dancing, of the open air, bespeaks the activity, albeit sometimes the misdirected activity, of healthy instincts. The enjoyment of expansion, of growth and exercise, are in them all. Half the extravagances of speech and action which we regard with so much misgiving are a revolt from some cramping of body or mind, some starvation of spirit. Education does not imply any extraction of the sparkle and the sting from these expressions of vitality. It sends them on fresh and more thrilling voyages of discovery, with more reliable compasses and with better charts—which they are to take their share in completing.

Born students, who give themselves to the more serious things of the mind, may be few. Seekers for the meaning of what life brings them from day to day are many. On all hands there are those who demand recreation and enjoyment. And with the more complex organization of our corporate life, the fuller realization of our social potentialities, comes a conviction that these must be utilized for welfare and not merely for the production of wealth. When, therefore, we interpret adult education in terms of life and people, and not merely in those of books and subjects of formal study, we shall see fresh opportunities and stimulating challenges everywhere. We shall rejoice to be students all, since the word will convey something of the verve and the fun which the natural boy or girl expects at a university. The distinction between "highbrow" and "lowbrow"—and even Mr H. G. Wells's "broadbrow"—will no longer possess meaning. And in so far as we are concerned with the education of other people we shall think only of interpreting the potential lifelong student

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to himself, of opening his eyes to the real nature of his craving, of helping him to find the ways in which through educational pursuits he may satisfy it. Even should we find, as some insist, that adult education is not for all, we shall come upon unexplored and untilled fields so vast that not all our energies will suffice to overtake either the sowing or the reaping

CHAPTER III

LEARNING FROM LIFE

THE great change that Darwin introduced into our thinking has given us far more than a scientific and illuminating insight into human origins. Since his day we have become biologically minded. We recognize that life is a process of unbroken continuity, even when contrast seems to be its most striking feature. A passage from Professor John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* illustrates this approach to the subject of our present discussion.

"Normal child and normal adult alike are engaged in the process of growing. The difference between them is not the difference between growth and no growth, but between the modes of growth appropriate to different stages. . . . Since in reality there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education. It is a commonplace to say that education should not cease when one leaves school. The point of this commonplace is that the purpose of school education is to ensure the continuance of education by organizing the powers that ensure growth. The inclination to learn from life itself, and to make the conditions of life such that all will learn in the process of living, is the finest product of schooling. . . . Since growth is characteristic of life, education is all one with growth; it has no end beyond life itself." Thus Professor Dewey arrives at a definition of education which is very pertinent to our theme. "Education means the enterprise of supplying the conditions which ensure growth, or adequacy of life, irrespective of age."

Even if we have caught the thrill of the challenge flung out by Browning's "Grammarian"—"No end to

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learning!", most of us have been content to pay a passing tribute of admiration to this as the ideal of the rare scholar, the typical bookworm. Such devotion to knowledge, we suppose, is not for the ordinary man. More commonly we have simply failed to distinguish between education and "schooling." Until we have rid ourselves of that confusion, as Dr J K Hart urges in his provocative book on *Adult Education*, we shall condemn our children to a deadening routine of mere instruction from which they naturally and wholeheartedly revolt as soon as they can escape from school or university. But education involves knowledge, experience and fellowship. For that reason it is never finished, and cannot be more than begun in childhood and youth. "To know and to have lost the power of learning," says Croce in his *Autobiography*, "to be educated and to be unable still to improve one's education, is to bring one's life to a standstill, and the right name for that is not life, but death."

Continuous growth, however, is not by itself a sufficient description of education. We need the fuller phrase used by the late Professor James Ward in his *Psychology Applied to Education*—"guided growth." The distinguishing mark of the grown up is that they choose their own guides, and find in them companions, not dictators. Nevertheless there is not one principle applicable to the education of children and another to that of grown-ups. Methods certainly will differ: essentials remain the same. A disastrous mistake was made when, in the English system, "elementary" was contrasted with "secondary" education, not only as a distinct avenue of learning, but also as leading to an altogether different economic and social status. Similarly, technical and university education have been separated, and have even developed, in some cases, rivalry or antagonism. It is highly necessary that the principle of continuity between all stages and types of education should be reaffirmed. Adult education, which has been variously supposed to be an effort to overtake deficiencies in elementary education, a rival to technical education, and a poor relation of university education,

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will then appear in its proper perspective as the crown of them all. Just as primary education should prepare the way for secondary, and this again for technical and university education, so adult education should be the next step for young people who have passed through the ordinary primary and secondary courses and then either have begun to earn their living in the calling of their choice, or have pursued more specialized courses of study at college or university. Meantime there is truth in the saying of Professor T. P. Nunn. "There isn't primary education as compared with secondary, or adult as contrasted with university. There's just education!"

Yet, while we recognize continuity of process and identity of fundamental principle, each stage in education has its peculiar conditions and requirements. The acquirement of knowledge and the correlation of this with experience in a fellowship based upon common interests may be the essentials of education in any form. But in what respects does the education of the grown-up combine these elements differently from that of the younger person? What fresh considerations have to be taken into account, either in seeking to stimulate among adults the desire to make their education lifelong, or in helping them to fulfil that desire?

Though adult education is not a kind of annexe to the elementary or secondary school, intended for men and women who were taken away from these too soon or have forgotten what they learned there, it is inevitably conditioned at present for many people by the imperfections and failures of our educational and social systems. The fact that a man has been in his boyhood one of a school class of sixty finds him out in his twenties or his forties when he wants to study politics, economics or literature: for it has been practically impossible for the most devoted and skilful of teachers to teach him the art of learning in the way required by his particular temperament and mentality. If a woman has had little or no encouragement to read and express herself in speech or writing since she left school at fourteen she encounters severe preliminary difficulties when later in life she joins a group to study hygiene, citizenship,

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natural history or child-psychology When young people have been driven at high speed through an exacting technical course which has occupied most of their evenings from the time they leave the elementary or secondary school until they arrive at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, they are apt to have lost all interest in liberal studies and to have gained nothing of true scientific method or spirit.

Thus it comes about that adult education often involves learning first of all how to handle the ordinary tools which it ought to have been second nature for the adult student to use, and rekindling a desire which ought never to have died down

Much discussion has of late arisen as to whether adults are really "educable" The study of intelligence, the invention of intelligence tests, mental measurements, and other applications of formal psychology suggested a conclusion extremely disconcerting to certain eager advocates of education for the grown-up This was that general intelligence, which normally shows regular development until a boy or girl is about sixteen, then ceases to increase. The deduction which appears to follow is that if one has not had the good fortune to be wisely guided, adequately supplied with intellectual food, and stimulated to the right exercise of mental capacities in one's early youth, one's case is thereafter hopeless.

Professor Spearman in England and Professor Thorndike in America have been devoting special attention to this problem, and agree that, while general intelligence or ability may reach its maximum before the period of adolescence is over, no such devastating consequences as the pessimists proclaim need be anticipated Professor Thorndike has recently published a full account of his investigations in his book entitled *Adult Learning*, but before doing so he summarized his main results, in an address to the American Association of Adult Education, as follows: "Ability to learn rises till about twenty, and then, perhaps after a stationary period of some years, slowly declines The decline is so slow (it may roughly be thought of as one per cent per year) that persons under fifty should seldom be deterred from trying to

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learn anything which they really need to learn by the fear that they are too old. And to a lesser degree this is true after fifty also . . . The chief reason why adults so seldom learn a new language or a new trade or any extensive achievement of knowledge or skill is not the lack of ability, but the lack of opportunity or desire to learn."

Professor Spearman's point is a different, though related, one "Adult persons are," he says (in the *Journal of Adult Education*), "and remain, about equal to children in secondary schools—and considerably above those in primary schools—with regard to their fundamental powers of learning. But with respect to the application of these powers to special kinds of mental operations the adult is far more affected than the child by many influences, both cognitive and conative, through which he may be either assisted or impeded. He is far more likely than the child to yield a bad harvest for his education; but equally slow, also, to yield a rich one. The success or otherwise of the movement to educate him must therefore depend upon the educator's acquiring knowledge of how and where the more favourable outcome may be secured."

The weakness of measurements and statistics in this realm is that they apply mainly, if not wholly, to processes of learning facts, or acquiring knowledges and skills. These are obviously of great importance to men and women who must "get on or get out" in the world of industry or commerce. They are also inseparable from the sheer interest and effectiveness of living. Moreover, all genuine culture of spirit demands a measure of full and exact knowledge, ever increasing. But while we appreciate the efforts made by a great school of psychologists to justify their claim that psychology is a science, drawing its conclusions from careful observation, experiment and measurement, this aspect of it does not carry us far in understanding the process of adult education, though it may deliver us from the fear that we are too old to learn.

For the business of adult education is not "vocational" or "technical" in the limited and debased

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interpretation so commonly given to these really humanistic words. It attracts grown-up people because they see in it a means of becoming something other than they are, of widening their horizons, quickening their imaginations, refining and strengthening their powers of judgment, and enriching their capacity for living in creative fellowship with other people, as well as increasing their store of knowledge and adding to their equipment for action. In dealing with men and women who are animated by a desire to attain greater freedom and to exercise responsibility more worthily, it is impossible to proceed upon a mere law of averages, even to the extent to which this may usefully be applied to boys and girls. The variety of interest, purpose, and previous preparation is infinite, and will be found so within a little group of a dozen persons as surely as within the population of a city or a whole countryside.

After all, despite the uncertainties and even the impossibilities proclaimed by the doubters, the job, as every one of us knows and as a tutor recently remarked with jubilant finality, is being done every day. There may be many problems in adult education for the psychologists to investigate, and when they have arrived at substantial conclusions we shall be able to go about our task of educating ourselves and one another in more clear-sighted and successful ways. But in the meantime, whether individually or in organized groups, we are managing to continue that process of guided growth in mind and spirit which is education, at whatever stage of life it goes on.

The real significance for us of such statements as Professor Thorndike and Professor Spearman make, however, lies in their scientific reinforcement of our common-sense assumption that the educational approach must be quite other, in the case of adults, than it is in that of children and adolescents. All environment has an educational effect. Either it stimulates and fosters the growth which we desire for ourselves and for others, or it chills and checks that growth. The boy finds school and home the most arresting and exacting aspect of his environment. Behind these is the big world of work and

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adventure which may sometimes impinge upon his consciousness through what his father or his elder brothers are doing, what he reads in the newspapers, or what he sees as he goes to and fro in town or village. Within the smaller world of school his games and his chums may be, for him, more important factors in his environment than his classes or his books. We constantly recognize this when we choose (or, if we cannot choose, appraise) schools to which we send our children on the score, not of examination results or prospects of securing a satisfactory "start in life" alone, but of "atmosphere," "tone," "spirit," or whatever else we value in the corporate life and influence which play so large a part in the making or the marring of the boy or girl.

For the adult student, however, the big-world aspect of his environment is ordinarily supreme. Work, politics, social conditions, the people with whom in a dozen kinds of relationship he has to do every day—these dominate his thinking and his feeling to the comparative exclusion of books, ordered discussion, the practice of the arts, and the other usually recognized means of intellectual and cultural development. It is largely in order that he may answer the questions or satisfy the hungers stimulated by the experience of daily life that he turns to the resources of class, lecture-room, or library. While he may perchance plough a solitary furrow as a student, it is the need of companionship in his intellectual adventures, of confirmation or criticism in his researches and conclusions, that sends him into a group constituted for educational purposes. And then it is seen to be essential that all the aspects of his environment should be held together, and all recognized as in some way or other part of his education. The life-long student must needs by some means relate the garnered knowledge and the disciplined thought of the university to "the bustle of man's work-time." Knowledge and experience must be integrated by reflection and discussion, each helping to explain the other in the process. Individual and social life, each with its claims which must not be crushed out by the demands of the other, and each with its contribution to life which must

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not be missed through yielding wholly to the attractions of the other, have somehow to be harmonized in more than a purely philosophical fashion, harmonized in practice by sharing the corporate life of a fellowship. Adult education is essentially a process of learning from life, and thus being able to get the most out of books. If growing demands for freedom and a deepening sense of responsibility mark personal and social maturity, the educational pursuits by which these are clarified and unified will need to be part and parcel of our life as a whole, and not merely a preoccupation of such leisure as we can give to formal study. Indeed, if we believe that lifelong education is for all, we are committed to a conception of education in which the formalities play a comparatively small part for any of us, and a negligible part for most. The analogy is that of fresh air and jolly exercise with our best friends, rather than that of "physical jerks" in the gymnasium or the "daily dozen" in solitude.

The essential consideration then is not what a man learns, but why he wants to learn it, how he sets to work, and what the effort makes of him as a personality or as a member of society. From this standpoint it matters only relatively whether he is capable of acquiring what Lord Haldane used to call the higher knowledge, or whether he is ready only for very simple pursuits, recreational in character and followed in quite unconventional ways. Neither "the university of the people" nor "night-school" is a sufficient description of what adult education really is. Both ideas may be included, but many other names will be needed as well. One man may be seeking the philosophic key to the meaning of existence: another may be concerned with political or economic questions. Another may be discovering some hitherto unsuspected aptitude for using his hands artistically and skilfully. Each is attaining a new understanding of himself and enriching the values of his world.

Mr. E. C. Lindeman takes an invigorating view of adult education when he declares that its purpose is "to put meaning into the whole of life," and that "the resource

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of highest value is the learner's own experience" Summarizing the argument of his pungent little book on *The Meaning of Adult Education*, he says "Meaning must reside in the things for which people strive, the goals which they set for themselves, their wants, needs, desires and wishes . . . among other things, intelligence, power, self-expression, freedom, creativity, appreciation, enjoyment, fellowship. . . They want to count for something, they want their experience to be vivid and meaningful, they want their talents to be utilized, they want to know beauty and joy, they want all these realizations of their total personalities to be shared in communities of fellowship. Briefly, they want to improve themselves, this is their realistic and primary aim. But they want also to change the social order so that vital personalities will be creating a new environment in which their aspirations may be properly expressed"

Even this comprehensive analysis cannot be accounted complete. It certainly would not be recognized by the majority of adult students as an explanation of the impulses which led them to take up the study of literature or the social sciences, history, psychology, or the arts, or perchance merely to join a group for the discussion of current questions as reflected in the newspapers, or a class for the practice of some handicraft. For many of them simply do not know what they want, or why. Many are only aware that they are searching for a pleasant way of spending their leisure and finding congenial company. Assuredly while, in one sense, liberal education is not sought for its own sake save by very few, in another sense it is rarely pursued by grown-up people for the sake of anything else its appeal and its value are alike due to its sheer human interest it is learning from life by the aid of living teachers and living books.

Fundamentally, therefore, Mr. Lindeman is right. The desire springs out of a man's dominant interests. Politics, industrial and economic conditions, international problems, the progress of science and the application of it in the service of human welfare, a love

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of Nature, the æsthetic temperament, religion, and a score of minor preoccupations, yield starting points. There can be no orthodoxy of programme or method. The didactic spirit would be fatal. Yet there must be thoroughness, the endeavour to synthesize knowledge and experience for oneself, the cultivation of a right judgment in all things. While intense and narrow specialism of the kind into which honours or research students at a university may find themselves betrayed is in the nature of things impossible for the adult student, he must avoid the peculiar peril of his own circumstances in the tendency to confine his studies (especially of the social sciences) within too narrow an ambit, and to pursue them in other than a liberal spirit.

Adult education, however, is humanist at the core, because it is concerned more with people and with "situations" than with "subjects". Its purpose is the understanding, enrichment and direction of human living, rather than the achievement of conventional academic standards and distinctions. Some forms of it, as we shall see, may tend to become dilettante. Others may lose spontaneity and freedom if they are unable to resist the desire of a certain type of student for official recognition and reward. But in the main it is, as Mr. Spencer Miller does not hesitate to call it, "a spiritual activity" or, as Mr. Everett Dean Martin says, "a spiritual revaluation of life".

The prevailing notes in the development of adult education have been, as a glance at its history will reveal to us, very sharply contrasted from time to time. Citizenship and the intensification of class-consciousness, for example, would appear to be conflicting aims. Concentration upon social and political emancipation might be thought difficult to combine with the quest of personal enjoyment of leisure and recreation. Self-realization and social idealism have presented themselves to generations of men as the alternatives in a very real dilemma. The science, art and philosophy of living may possibly be regarded as occupying an entirely different plane of thought from a love of folk-dancing or a fancy for working in wood or metal. Yet they all will be found

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to harmonize in the rich, deep chord of human aspiration towards complete and joyous living. Each has contributed to the desire of men and women for knowledge related to experience, and fellowship in discovering the meaning and value of life

Lifelong education, in meeting these needs, helps those who participate in it to achieve the freedom, cope with the responsibility, and attain to the unity of thought and purpose which we saw to be the main themes running through the great symphony of adult life. These very powers are drawn out and strengthened in co-operative study, in practice of the arts, and in the life which students and tutors live together. The class is an experiment in democracy. A group constituted on the basis of one particular common interest, yet diverse in almost every other respect, is a real microcosm. Idealism and realism, theory and practice are brought together in these leisure-time occupations after a fashion which is rare in work-time experience, but which gradually transforms our approach to the whole of life. Though there must be a flexibility and informality in adult education which may at first sight suggest mere amusement of a more or less intellectual type, there is also an intellectual discipline which is of the highest importance

It is this discipline upon which many leaders of organized labour are laying emphasis now. Thus, for example, in a *Highway* article entitled "Trade Union Education—What for?" Mr Ernest Bevin writes. "It seems to me, therefore, that the educationalist in the adult education movement must make his principal job the stimulation of thought. It matters little what the subject under consideration is, provided men and women are being stimulated to use their brains in regard to the problems under review. It is important, of course, that knowledge should be imparted, that the student should know what great minds have said about their subjects, but it is vitally important that there should be no rigid views or theories imposed upon the student. Facts must not be made to fit in with the theories, but the student must appreciate how certain conclusions have been

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reached on the evidence collected, and why it is that on certain problems there are differences of opinion. I am not a believer in the utility of phrases and slogans. I believe they often do infinite harm. They inhibit thought on vital problems, and often have no practical constructive value so far as the complicated problems we are up against are concerned. The recitation of phrases and the use of extracts from well-worn authorities will never get us out of our difficulties."

Addressing the American Federation of Labour on "The Promise of Workers' Education," Mr. Spencer Miller sounded much the same note. "Fundamentally," he said, "the cultural aims of labour and of education are one as both are concerned with the development of the fullness of man's stature they have a common goal. . . Of this we are sure—that unless democracy can become educated, its future is not secure. Only trained and widespread intelligence will save the American democratic experiment . . . We have achieved the form of democracy before our people have been educated for its operation. You remember the words of the ancient Roman philosopher, Epictetus, who said 'The rulers of the State assert that only the free shall be educated, but God hath said that only the educated shall be free.'"

Beside these passages we may well put one from an address on "Political Education," given by Mr. Baldwin at the Philip Stott College. "The purpose of such education is always twofold; it is, in the first place, to clear the mind of cant, and in the second place not to rest content with having learnt enough to follow the syllogism, knowing perfectly well that to follow the syllogism alone is the short cut to the bottomless pit, unless you are able to detect the fallacies that lie by the wayside. If you can clear the mind of cant and detect the fallacy, whatever guise it may be wearing, I think you have made a long step forward in the education that every citizen in a democracy that may hope to endure must have."

The university spirit in adult education does not imply that we cease to learn from life. It means precisely what these men of affairs say. It postulates

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mastery of all the relevant facts, so far as these can be ascertained, ability and courage to criticize one's own views and prejudices, or those of one's party, as well as those of differing or opposed groups. It demands imagination, sympathy, sensitiveness, and constructive purpose. The doctrine cuts both ways, as those writers from whom we have just quoted are well aware. Neither the yellow nor the red variety of dogmatism can survive its application. Yet if democracy is to make lasting progress it must be put into universal practice. For, as Professor Leonard Nelson urges, after his destructive criticism of present-day democracy as mere majority rule, the one hope of a sound society is education, alike of those who are to lead and those who must follow. The bond of mutual faith between leaders and followers, on which all else depends, is forged, he maintains, in their fellowship of education.

"If a man will not work, neither shall he eat" is generally agreed to be sound morality, good economics, and the only sure basis for a satisfactory social order. But the same principle underlies all the claims of the free man. If he affirms his right to make up his own mind and to act according to his own convictions, he thereby commits himself to the duty of earning—or at least justifying—that right by working for his mental living. "You only think—but I know" is an overwhelming strong position—if the speaker really has paid the price of knowledge, and has reflected upon that knowledge till it has been transformed into insight. No man is free so long as he remains, even though of his own deliberate choice, in bondage to intellectual authority, however venerable, or to his own crassness and ignorance, however absorbed he may be in the practical service of his kind. Life and learning go together in the attainment of liberty. So also responsibility can be adequately appreciated and discharged only as it is conceived and fulfilled by men who take thought, looking each not only upon his own things but also upon the things of others. Not the least test of education, and especially of adult education, is its power to create such civic-mindedness. For the business of

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education, as of life, is not merely to perfect individuals, but to fashion the whole social complex of relationships apart from which man is not even a splendid animal and cannot hope to show himself divine. If, as Plato held, the State is only happy and safe when philosophers are kings, those who would be kings must first learn to be philosophers.

Adult education, therefore, is intensely practical while at the same time it is concerned with "the best that has been thought and said in the world." Fair-mindedness, tolerance and straight thinking, the wedding of beauty to truth, and a sense of humour that puts salt into goodness are qualities which lifelong learning from life has produced in men and women whose experience and testimony lend to adult education its appeal and its worth. People who desire these things, both for themselves and for others, may not openly say as much. But in their hearts they cherish the ideal, whether they have discovered this path to the achievement of it or not. It is a way that has many turnings, and perplexities not a few. But we may know whether our feet are upon it, since it takes us always further into the heart of life, and we find ourselves a part of the company of commonplace people who are growing out of their commonplaceness into a new and distinctive dignity—the dignity of having consciously a share in the evolution of what Dr. Graham Wallas has called The Great Society.

CHAPTER IV

PROPHETS AND PIONEERS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

HISTORICALLY considered, the notion that adult education began at the end of the eighteenth century and in Great Britain is of course absurd. Anthropologists teach us a wider significance of the word education when they describe the initiation ceremonies of primitive tribes, and show us how traditional lore and tribal custom continue the process of moulding young men to the approved type after they have been admitted to full standing in these early forms of society. No civilization has been content with the school system provided for its boys and girls. adult education in some guise or other has invariably followed upon this. If Plato's *Republic* is essentially a treatise upon the education of youth, his *Dialogues* are in the main illustrations of the way in which Socrates went about insisting that the grown-up citizen should learn to question conventional phrases and ideas—still more to develop clearness of thought. And even in the *Republic* Plato refers to the continued education of men in middle life and even later. In the age of Pericles it was held to be the business of Athens to educate the rest of Greece by demonstrating what the life of a city-state might be at its best. The supreme achievement in adult education is set forth in the pages of the four Gospels. St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Gall carried out what were in effect great campaigns of adult education in the dark ages of Northern Europe. The Renaissance and the Reformation both produced a new love and pursuit of learning among grown men and women. To tell the whole story of adult education would be a fascinating task. Here, however, we must confine ourselves to consideration of the forces which,

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during the late eighteenth and the greater part of the nineteenth century, fostered the development of adult education in Britain, with a glance now and then at outstanding events in other parts of the world

Adult education then, as English people know it to-day, was reborn in the ferment created at the end of the eighteenth century by the Evangelical Revival and the Industrial Revolution, while the effect of the French Revolution upon English life and thought supplied an additional stimulus.

Already in Europe, between the eleventh century and the seventeenth, Francis, Dominic and Savonarola, Ignatius Loyola, Luther and Calvin, Erasmus and Pascal had released spiritual energies which found expression in almost every aspect of human life. Their message liberated men from the deadening conventions of theology and ritual, setting forth religion as a life of joyous enrichment and adventure of the spirit, though also of conflict and discipline, both moral and intellectual. Thereby they set men asking questions about art and literature, trade and politics, science and philosophy. In like manner the two Wesleys and Whitfield, in the second half of the seventeenth century, preached and sang not merely the dwindling company of church-goers but whole masses of the population into a new conception of life. They created a passionate desire for assurance of salvation and an overwhelming joy in the satisfaction of it, but they also kindled missionary ardour—a social as well as an individual conscience—and stimulated a craving for truth and beauty in a hundred ways. They brought the people back into the Churches indeed, but their movement was also in a profound sense educational.

Actual firstfruits appeared in Wales, where Griffith Jones, a young clergyman of the Church of England, “discovered an inclination to go to Tranquebar,” as an emissary of the recently founded S P C K, but in the end remained at home, because he was convinced that there was more work to be done in spreading the Gospel there than in India. His evangelical zeal led him not only to preach, and to manifest great sympathy with

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Methodism, but also to seek the education of the people, particularly by means of the Circulating Schools, which he founded about 1737. "From his remote parish in Wales," says Professor Cavenagh, "he sent his schoolmasters throughout Wales, keeping regularly in touch with them, and visiting many places himself." An important part of the work was that of teaching men and women to read the Bibles and other books of religion which he procured for them from the S.P.C.K., moved as he had been by the "melancholy discovery of their brutish, gross and general ignorance in things pertaining to salvation." Thomas Charles of Bala reorganized the work in 1785, and continued it with great devotion. In this way was established the tradition of the Welsh Sunday Schools, with their adult classes, which to this day have remained among the greatest educational and cultural factors in the life of the nation.

A beginning was made in England in a very similar way. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804, and it was the inability of poor people in Bristol to read the Bibles thus brought within their reach that inspired the Methodist chapel-keeper, William Smith, to start in 1812 Adult Schools wherein they might learn to read and write. The Birmingham Sunday Society had begun its work in 1789 and an Adult School was founded at Nottingham in 1798, but these did not give rise to others, though the Nottingham School has continued till the present time. Schools multiplied in Bristol and the idea was taken up by religiously and philanthropically minded people all over the country—in particular by the Quakers. Spiritual regeneration and social reclamation were purposes which appealed with a force varying in accordance with the outlook of the promoters, many of whom at first were people of social importance anxious to make England more safe—and comfortable—for the aristocracy. But it was a genuine passion for the moral emancipation of men and women and for the creation in them of a sense of social responsibility that sent the leaders of the Bristol Schools to the thieves and footpads of Kingswood, Winks, of Gainsborough and Leicester, to the inmates of gaols and workhouses, and to "the dark

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degraded gypsies", and Benjamin Burritt to his fellow prisoners of war from France and America in Stapleton Prison. They founded successful Schools among these unpromising groups of Ishmaelites. These, of course, were only the more picturesque aspects of the movement, which spread widely among artisans and country folk of decent but illiterate type, and was carried, as Dr Pole tells us in the quaint account which he published in 1814, to America and other countries abroad. This earlier phase of adult school work, however, gradually declined until, by the middle of the century, its force was well-nigh spent.

It had a direct link with developments arising from political and economic impulses in Thomas Cooper, the Chartist, whose own enthusiasm for the languages which he taught himself and for the literatures of which he managed somehow to accumulate the chief classics, reinforced by his religious convictions, caused him to start the "Shakespearean Association of Leicester Chartists," with its successful Adult Sunday School and classes. He tells us, however, that unemployment embittered the operatives, who put the savage question, "What the hell do we care about reading if we get nought to eat?" and gave up their pursuit of culture for cruder forms of recreation and more excitingly direct efforts to improve their material conditions.

The policy of the Government during the last twenty years of the eighteenth century was one of repression in many forms, and the opening of the new century brought little relief. During the wars with Napoleon the upper middle classes suffered very little, and the aftermath bore comparatively lightly upon them. The poor people paid, especially when the imposition of the Corn Tax in 1815 sent the cost of living up. The increase of machinery and the development of trade and commerce fostered the rapid growth of sordidly built industrial towns, and created recurrent spells of unemployment due to the transfer of domestic industries in town and country to the factories. Even the middle classes were without the franchise. The House of Commons was packed with country gentlemen who sat for rotten

boroughs. The Combination Acts of 1799-1800 had made Trade Unions illegal. Enclosure of common lands for the increase of corn-growing restricted the life of cottager and small farmer. On the " Speenhamland " system in the south of England country labourers were given poor relief out of the rates after a fashion which kept the scale of wages low. In the factories and in the mines women and children were exploited with a shameless setting of wealth above life. Beauty and joy passed with freedom out of the lives of the people. Fear of a revolution such as France had suffered made successive British governments apprehensive of even the simplest of liberties. Measures with difficulty justified during the conflict with Napoleon as necessary in so great an emergency were continued as a steady policy after peace was made. Public meetings were forbidden except by permission of the magistrates. A tax was put upon newspapers with the deliberate intention of keeping these possible fomenters of discontent out of the hands of the common people. The blind folly of this régime came to a head in the " battle of Peterloo " at Manchester, in 1819, when a perfectly orderly mass-meeting of protest against some of these disabilities was treated with violence by mounted soldiers on the instruction of the magistrates, and several people were killed.

Such was the soil that statesmen prepared for the Jacobinism, resulting from the French Revolution of 1789, which they hated and dreaded. Burke's *Thoughts on the French Revolution* inflamed thought and feeling among the possessing classes. Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* set those of the dispossessed on fire. The activities of the Corresponding Society, and other working class groups which maintained communication with revolutionaries in France, added fuel to the flame till they in their turn were suppressed. Cobbett, in the early years of the century, set out as an antagonist of Paine's views, but soon found himself launching a crusade of his own. As Professor G. M. Trevelyan writes about Cobbett, in his *History of England*, " At the height of his influence in 1816 it stands on record that he turned many of his readers from rioting and rickburning to political dis-

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cussion and organization. They would have paid little attention to his advice if he had not been a journalist of genius in the early youth of journalism, and if he had not given expression, as no one else then did, to the insufferable position in which the poor found themselves. In town and country every person in authority in Church or State seemed to them in league with their employers against them; they had no tribunes to speak for them; they had no franchise in central or in local government; they had no legal means of trade organization to make their numbers felt in the labour market. Cobbett was the first who gave effective voice to their cause." In many respects Cobbett's periodical, *The Political Register*, was a potent instrument of adult education, and both his *Rural Rides* and his *Advice to Young Men* laid strong emphasis upon the importance of an alert, well-informed mind and a sound, independent judgment—though he derided schools of the sort he saw up and down the country.

Working men thus began to set their course in the direction of understanding the forces, industrial, economic, social, and political, of which they found themselves victims, so that they might the better bring about the changes which they desired. In Glasgow Dr Birkbeck had given popular lectures on applied science to the mechanics who had been making instruments for him and his colleagues but who had no real understanding of, or interest in, their tasks. When he came to London he found there a strong body of intelligent, rebelliously-minded artisans, who were bent upon discovering the secret of emancipating themselves and mastering the resources necessary for economic and political reconstruction. Two thousand of them, meeting at the Crown and Anchor, demanded facilities such as Robertson and Hodgskin had already suggested in *The Mechanics' Magazine*. Dr Birkbeck's advice and help was sought, and in 1824 the London Mechanics' Institute (now Birkbeck College) was opened. It was democratically financed and governed—even the offer of voluntary lectures by a well-disposed gentleman being refused lest independence should in any way be sacri-

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ficed Like the earlier Adult School movement, the new venture proved unexpectedly popular. Mechanics' Institutes sprang up not only in every large town but also in many small towns and villages throughout the country. Henry Brougham was an eager advocate of them. Manufacturers gave generously towards their establishment and upkeep. By 1850 more than six hundred were at work, and Dr John Hudson, in his *History of Adult Education*, published in 1851, describes them in detail, while James Hole, in a notable Society of Arts prize essay entitled *Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutions*, published in 1853, discusses their strength and weakness with great penetration and humour.

At the height of the success achieved by the Institutes conditions changed very rapidly. In 1833 slaves were emancipated throughout the British dominions. Historians have reminded us that if the slave-trade and slavery had been allowed to continue it would have rotted our national life to the core, as it did that of Greece and Rome; Mr and Mrs Hammond have shown, in *The Rise of Modern Industry*, how the shadow of the slave-trade, which generated in some men the habit of regarding and treating other human beings as *things*, already lay across the industrial life of England, and influenced it far more adversely than did the mere introduction of machine processes. Another great landmark was the first Reform Bill, passed in 1832. This did not go far towards democratizing the government of the country, but it was the first great breach in the Chinese wall of privilege, based upon birth, that shut both the middle and the working classes out of all responsibility for civic and national affairs, as well as out of social and economic freedom. In 1824 the Combination Act had been repealed, thus making the organization of workmen through Trade Unions once more legal, and to that degree admitting that a man has rights over the disposition of his own labour. The Municipal Corporations Act was passed in 1835, giving votes in municipal elections to all rate-payers. The advance of religious freedom had been marked by the repeal of the Test Act in 1828 and the

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passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, Non-conformists and Roman Catholics being thereby made eligible for public office, including membership of both Houses of Parliament. Socially the passing of the Factory Act of 1833 was a cardinal achievement, since it established legal limitation of the working hours of children and young persons, and introduced Government inspection. It was not until 1846 that the repeal of the Corn Laws brought a new day of prosperity for the working classes in town and village alike. But in the 'twenties and 'thirties the spirit of freedom and of democratic responsibility was in the air, though as yet it was but faint. Just as the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the French Revolution in 1789 had stirred men's minds with thoughts of liberty and self-government, so also the Revolutions of 1830 and 1831 had their effect. The repercussion in England of the struggle against the Turks, for the establishment of Greek independence, in which the British took a hand in 1827, was considerable, though the occasion was less important.

Here then religious, economic, and nationalist elements combined to awaken new aspirations which the Chartist movement in the 'forties intensified. Francis Place, Lovett, Cooper and the others sought for all what the Reform Bill of 1832 had given to a very few, and utilized the new method of propaganda and enlightenment which Cobbett had employed in his agitations against the Corn Laws, as Wilberforce had in his Anti-Slavery Campaign. Place's library was famous—he was a friend of Jeremy Bentham, and a strong supporter of the London Mechanics' Institute. Lovett gave a great part of his strength to 'practical experiments in education at his ill-fated Holborn Hall, and we have already noted the work that Thomas Cooper did among his young men. But the physical force group, headed by Daniel O'Connell, weakened and in the end destroyed Chartism, which was also brought into ridicule by the failure of its monster demonstration and petition. What the movement did, however, was to create a new sense of solidarity among working people and to give

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them confidence in themselves, for they refused alliance with the middle class folk who were still, like themselves, disfranchised and looked down upon, though not exploited. Chartism also quickened the appetite for education, which at the same time, though in a different fashion, was stimulated by Robert Owen, the father of the Co-operative Movement, both in his writings and in his experiments at New Lanark.

Naturally then, the subjects of most vivid interest to working people were those connected with politics, religion, and social progress. These, however, were taboo at Mechanics' Institutes, which were governed for the most part by employers and other benevolent autocrats, necessarily swayed by their regard for vested interests and clinging to the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, which meant in practice competitive individualism. Consequently the life went out of the Institutes, which became to a great extent either social clubs or technical schools. Those for whom they were intended started Lyceums of their own, or got together in public-house parlours for their discussions. Serious and continuous study declined.

Libraries were widely used whenever they were controlled by people who were neither pious moralists nor nervous politicians. These libraries were mostly of the subscription type, though "apprentices' libraries," to which access was made specially easy, and the Yorkshire village libraries, played a large part in proving the value of making books widely accessible to the people. It was not till 1849 that the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee "on the best Means of extending the Establishment of Libraries freely open to the Public, especially in Large Towns, in Great Britain and Ireland." An item of interest in the evidence given to the Committee is that "Mr. George Dawson, a lecturer in the manufacturing districts, asserted that the working classes had a preference for politics and history that the proportion of novels read was on the decline and that he could produce working men who could be cross-examined on any play of Shakespeare." The Committee in its Report spoke of the development of libraries in

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Mechanics' Institutes and the way in which London's two thousand coffee-houses had been obliged, to provide books for their patrons, while it also observed that the demand for lectures had created a new profession among "persons of superior education" who itinerated in order to deliver them, and that "it is almost a necessary consequence that lectures should lead to reading." A Bill followed, but the attitude of many well-to-do people in the country was reflected in Sir R. H. Inglis's remark that "The machinery was clearly adapted, not merely for the purpose of procuring books, but also of creating lecture rooms, which might give rise to an unhealthy agitation." Despite opposition an Act enabling Town Councils of a population of ten thousand to provide free public libraries and museums was passed, and was followed at intervals by others effecting improvements in the system.

Though the age of ruthless repression might be past, full freedom of inquiry, of thought, and of speech had not yet been attained, as the above-cited facts serve to show. Yet, oddly enough, from the beginning of the century the upper and middle classes had pursued their own forms of adult education in Literary and Philosophic Societies, Athenæums, and so forth, where they built up fine libraries, listened to distinguished lecturers, and took pleasure in music and the arts generally. These privileges they honestly sought to share with their hewers of wood and drawers of water, but under safeguards that made the proffered boon an offence, and left the "Casinos," with their popular music and opportunities of free social intercourse, in possession of a field which the Mechanics' Institutes and Lyceums ought to have occupied. It was characteristic of Thomas Arnold of Rugby that he perceived the futility of the whole business and energetically attacked the "safe" Institutes, declaring that they missed the vital point of adult education so long as they excluded controversial topics, and especially the discussion of politics and religion.

Meantime elementary education had received a great impetus as a result of the efforts made by Lancaster and

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Bell to introduce the monitorial system. The Royal Lancasterian Institution (which in 1814 became known as the British and Foreign Schools Society) was founded in 1807, and the National Society for promoting the education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in 1811. Deplorably as the system worked out, it at least brought the power to read and write within reach of a school population numbering, in 1851, some two millions. And the power to read is a dynamic of high potentiality. The England of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny period was far more advanced in knowledge and intelligence than that of the Trafalgar and Waterloo days. Moreover, education had now been recognized as a national concern, for the grant of £20,000 made in 1833 by the Government and divided between the two voluntary associations had in 1861 become £842,000, and was administered by a special Committee of the Privy Council, while also State subvention carried with it the wholesome and stimulating exercise of Government inspection.

The spiritual heirs of Robert Owen were the Rochdale Pioneers, who in 1844 established the first Co-operative Society on the lines so familiar to us to-day. From the outset they devoted a percentage of their profits to educational purposes—a tradition that has been observed in the Co-operative Movement ever since. F. D. Maurice and other Christian Socialists made an attempt to establish co-operative workshops in London, but their failure, though clearly due in large measure to their incompetence as men of business, was also attributed by Maurice fundamentally to the lack of vision, knowledge, judgment, and liberality of spirit among the working class people with whom he had to do. He saw the remedy in adult education, and at the same time was confronted, on his dismissal from his chair at King's College, London (as Birkbeck had been on his removal to London a quarter of a century earlier) with the request of a body of workmen, nine hundred strong, that he would lead them in a new educational venture. He at once recognized his chance of bringing together University men, of like training and kindred spirit to

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himself, and keen potential students. He was deeply impressed by the success of the People's College which a Congregational Minister named Bayley had founded in Sheffield in 1842, and modelled his own plans, as he himself several times said, upon this. In 1854 the London Working Men's College was founded, its basis being that of freedom in the study and discussion of all subjects under the guidance of academically qualified tutors, provision being made for students to share the responsibility for the life and work of the College, and to become fellows and tutors if they submitted themselves to the necessary intellectual discipline. With Maurice were men like J. M. Ludlow, Thomas Hughes, Furnivall, Ruskin and others, and the College produced among its students men of such fine type as George Tansley, who played their full part in all the College affairs.

Though not officially representative of the Universities and of organized Labour the College was the forerunner of the Workers' Educational Association and the university tutorial class system in some respects and, in its insistence upon the importance of corporate life at a common centre for students and tutors, of the Educational Settlements in others. Again, as in the case of the Adult Schools and the Mechanics' Institutes, a striking experiment arrested attention and inspired many similar efforts. During the 'fifties and 'sixties People's Colleges sprang up in different parts of the country, though they never became so numerous as the Mechanics' Institutes had been. Their keynotes were fellowship, serious and untrammelled study, and the distribution of responsibility among all concerned. For a variety of reasons, however, practically none of them survived beyond 1860, though happily the London Working Men's College still continues its activities on a greater scale than ever and maintains its tradition undiminished. Miss Margaret Hodgen, in *Workers' Education in England and the United States* characteristically says of the People's Colleges, "None survived in their original form. Some died. Some lost their working class identity, either by becoming the nucleus of large institu-

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tions of higher learning, or, as in the case of the London Working Men's College, by succumbing in part to the inroads of the middle class." Perhaps Mr. A. E. Dobbs comes nearer the truth when in *Education and Social Movements, 1700-1850*, he traces the spirit and methods of the People's Colleges back to certain elements in Chartism and forward to the work of the W.E.A. In any case it is not forcing our conception of adult education as the development and discipline of freedom and responsibility in personal and corporate life if we find in the People's Colleges a very definite and notable stage in the process of realizing these aims.

England, however, was not unique in these developments. Similar currents had been stirring the religious, social and political life of Denmark, with a result of far-reaching importance not only for that country but for Europe and America also. Towards the end of the eighteenth century certain changes in land-tenure took place which, unlike enclosures in England, distributed ownership more widely than under the previous semi-feudal system, and created a large class of independent, middle class farmers. The war of 1807, however, arrested the progress of the country and caused prolonged depression of spirit among the people. Economic stress followed as a result of seven years of hostilities. The July revolution of 1830 in Paris caused sympathetic movements of feeling in Denmark, and the war with Germany over Schleswig in 1848 created a more definite demand for democratic government. In 1849 the absolute monarchy was ended and a new constitution formulated. The peasantry now began to play an effective part in the national life, but were under the sway of materialistic ideals and class feeling. The loss of Schleswig-Holstein as a result of war with Austria and Prussia in 1864 plunged Denmark into a new and deeper gloom, but the nationalistic spirit was intensified, and constitutional changes necessitated by the alterations of the national boundaries led to a more democratic government and a wider franchise.

The life of N. F. S. Grundtvig, who was born in 1783, was contemporary with this period of change and dis-

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illusionment in Denmark. He became a very influential bishop, with a power of moving great companies of people by his preaching. But he had also a strong social and patriotic feeling, and gave himself unreservedly to the task of arousing the Danish nation to a practical idealism which should regenerate the whole life of the people. Visits to England, and admiration for the vigorous activity and freedom that he found prevalent there in contrast with Danish conditions, clarified his thought and purpose. He utilized the ancient legends and the history of his own country as a means of appealing to his people, for he was a poet as well as a preacher and scholar. Coming to believe that popular education was the finest and most effective instrument of national development, he conceived the idea of establishing Folk High Schools for the younger adults of all classes, who should spend a few months in residence at these schools for the purpose, not simply of study, but even more of sharing a simple corporate life on the basis of a common pursuit of culture under inspiring leadership. He worked out a plan for such a High School at Sorø, but circumstances hindered its fulfilment.

The first actual High School was established at Rodding in 1844, and though the upheaval of the war with Germany in 1848 caused temporary obscuration of the idea it gained permanent embodiment in the school started by Christian Kold at Ryslinge in 1849. This laid the foundation for a national development along similar lines after the loss of the Duchies in 1864. Grundtvig, till his death at the age of ninety, was the leading spirit in the movement, which was essentially a rural one, and included the establishment in many places where there was not a High School of simple village halls where lectures, music and social intercourse maintained the spirit of the High Schools, to which these centres were informally attached, serving a purpose like that of University Extension in England. The High Schools were, and remain, independent, and in almost every case privately owned.

The comment of a Danish inspector upon the influence exerted by the High Schools during the twenty years

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following 1863 is of special interest. In his judgment they had raised the level of culture throughout that whole section of the community from which the students came. "The positive knowledge they give the students during one or two courses of five months is, perhaps, not extensive or of fundamental value," he said, "yet I know how quickly an energetic and gifted person from eighteen to twenty years of age, with a desire for learning, can make good the difference between elementary and secondary education. What is most important, however, is not the amount of knowledge the students acquire, but the fact that the young people get mentally and emotionally aroused. They may forget a great deal of the instruction, but they leave the schools different people, having learned to hear, to see, to think, and to use their powers."

Grundtvig, under the pressure of the moral and social needs of the people, desired primarily that they might attain spiritual freedom, and then that they might be fitted to exercise the responsibility devolving upon them as they obtained the franchise and had to deal with rapidly changing economic conditions. Thus, in very different ways and yet not dissimilar circumstances, adult education of a remarkable and distinctive type grew up in Denmark alongside the movement in England.

Almost contemporary with the rise of the Danish Folk High Schools was the revival in England, through the efforts made by Joseph Sturge and William White at Birmingham, of the Adult School movement. The religious and social motives were dominant, for Sturge, a devoted member of the Society of Friends and a keen politician and social reformer, was impressed by the physical and moral degradation of the boys and young men whom he saw hanging about the back streets of the city. Sunday evening meetings for these undisciplined and illiterate but lively citizens were divided between preaching the Gospel to them and teaching them to read and write. Soon it was found better to hold the schools in the early morning, and for many years this continued to be the practice, each school being

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divided into classes, with regular teachers. Special buildings were acquired, though old and derelict premises, furbished up and made attractive, often proved more popular than specially erected ones. After a few years short talks on other than Biblical topics were introduced, and the "first half-hour" became a regular feature of the programme. The discussion method rather than the didactic was followed. Schools for women were established, often meeting during the week. Social and educational activities during the week-time were multiplied. The movement spread throughout the country, and drew working folk of all types and grades into its membership. Though not confined to the Society of Friends it was a chosen field of Quaker service, and the Friends' First Day Schools Association, founded in 1847 by Joseph Sturge to promote the work of Schools, threw its energies into the development of Adult Schools also, co-ordinating and strengthening the work with excellent results. By 1899, when the National Council of Adult School Unions (re-named in 1914 the National Adult School Union) was formed, on an interdenominational basis, to take over and widen the enterprise, the membership of the Quaker schools alone numbered twenty-eight thousand men and women, and the definitely educational aspect of the movement was much more marked. The development of democratic government in the schools, which appointed members to District Unions while these again elected the National Council, increased the hold of the movement upon its members and constituted also one of the most educative elements in its life.

The application of science to industry and the resultant creation of a new economic and social order had led, as we have seen, to the popular demand for knowledge in the earlier parts of the century. Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published in 1859. Huxley and Tyndall were revolutionizing men's thoughts about religion and philosophy, as well as science and history, in the 'sixties and 'seventies. The steady development of political institutions towards democracy was marked by the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884 respectively,

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which admitted more of the middle classes and some of the working classes to the franchise. Women began to take a fuller share in public life and to gain greater freedom. The Act of 1870 threw open the gates of elementary education to all children, while the Acts of 1876 and 1880 made their attendance at school first compulsory and then free. Labour began to organize itself effectively in order that better conditions might be obtained for workmen, and later that the newly enfranchised wage earners might wield an effective influence in politics.

Thus there arose, under the impact of this flood of new ideas and experiences, a renewed eagerness for knowledge. In the reformed Universities there were men of missionary fervour. Among co-operators and trade unionists, as well as among women teachers and other groups of the still intellectually disinherited feminine half of the population, there were those who were determined to secure whatever they could of the new learning and culture. The North of England Association for the Higher Education of Women, the Rochdale Co-operators, and a body of artisans at Croydon in turn invited James Stuart, of Cambridge, to deliver courses of lectures to them. He became fired with the idea of University Extension, and in 1873 his own University set up a definite "Syndicate" for the provision of courses of lectures in response to this new demand, Oxford following with a "Delegacy" and London with a "Board" before another decade had passed. Local Committees were formed, finances procured by means of students' fees and subscription lists, and audiences numbering as many as five or six hundred persons greeted the lecturers as they went up and down the country, from Durham and Northumberland to Devon and Cornwall. Intended primarily for the benefit of working class students, these Extension Courses became, in many instances the joy of a middle class intelligentsia, partly because (as leaders of the Mechanics' Institute movement observed more than a generation earlier) it is not possible to carry people far in serious study if they have not a sufficient training in the rudiments, and

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partly because the subjects offered were frequently not such as had an obvious relationship to the interests and problems of working class life. Nevertheless in some districts, especially the North Eastern coalfield, University Extension has been popular among wage-earners from its inception until now. It was an invasion of the Philistinism with which Arnold taunted the middle classes. It shared with the Mechanics' Institutes the honour of laying the foundations upon which several of our modern universities and university colleges were built. But for the inspiration that University Extension gave to the ardent co-operator, Albert Mansbridge, the university tutorial class movement which heralded, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so immense an advance in adult education might never have been conceived.

If the last few years of the nineteenth century were less fruitful of striking experiments in adult education than the earlier ones, the growth of enlightenment and the increase of desire for knowledge, wisdom and power were steady and widespread. Moreover, the discovery and the increase of worth in life is possible only to those who are impelled in their quest and in their toil by a faith, conscious or otherwise, in the supremacy of spiritual values—an aspect of this same story of the pioneers which the present writer has sought to elucidate elsewhere. To point the moral and adorn the tale is superfluous, for every phase of it reveals men and women seeking freedom and claiming responsibility in one sphere after another of the common life.

CHAPTER V

THE MOVEMENT IN OUR OWN TIME

IN a much discussed letter concerning the Fascist régime in Italy Mr Bernard Shaw declared that "the democratic idealism of the nineteenth century is as dead as a doornail" He may have been serious, or his satire may have been more than usually subtle, but many people who pride themselves upon being matter-of-fact would agree with him Shortly afterwards Viscount Grey of Fallodon, speaking at the Birmingham and Midland Institute, observed that "Democracy, the value of which was never questioned before we had it, is now the subject in many quarters of criticism, of questioning, and even of direct attack" But this is not the outcome of disillusionment The opposition to democracy, and to education as an instrument of democracy, offered by the aristocratic Englishmen in whose hands lay all political power at the beginning of the eighteenth century was *a priori*, begotten of fear lest the ignorant and brutish multitude should come in like a flood, and overwhelm in hopeless destruction all that sustained civilization for the many, as well as the wealth, culture, and authority of the few Modern criticism of democracy issues from experience, is more often from within, and has a constructive purpose. The real danger is that we may be too content with an inadequate conception of both personal freedom and democratic responsibility. Criticism may not be sufficiently penetrating or far-reaching. It may appear to us that, as compared with the idealists of three or four generations ago, we have arrived As Viscount Grey pointed out, we may forget the necessity and the reasonableness of extending democracy from politics to

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industry (and, we might add, to religion, education, and international relationships). There is a tendency to confuse democracy with proletarianism in the words used by Viscount Grey—"It is of the essence of Democracy that all classes have their share in it. We have got rid of despotism, then of government by aristocracy, by bringing in the middle classes, and finally we have got rid of class-government by bringing in every class. The suggestion that every class except what is called the proletariat should be excluded from government is reactionary, for it would be a return to class-government and would be stunted by the limitations and deformed by the abuses that are inseparable from any system of this kind, whatever be the class that governs." Further, in our enthusiasm for education as one of the foundations of democracy we may forget that knowledge without wisdom will prove in the end futile if not dangerous, and that the man who possesses intellectual competence without moral character or spiritual insight is but half educated, he is in a plight more dangerous than that of the wholly uneducated.

There is romance in the history of the pioneers of adult education—far more romance than such a hasty glance at it as we have taken can suggest. There is, indeed, a great deal of "democratic idealism." But there is in it too a record of solid achievement to which our debt is greater than we sometimes recognize. We of the twentieth century tend to forget or to undervalue our heritage. Because of what our "Victorian" forbears accomplished through adult education no less than by other means we start with a greater measure of freedom and responsibility, both vital elements in the ideal of a democracy, than they enjoyed. The question for our generation is whether during the last twenty-five years we have made worthy use of this, have learned from the mistakes of our fathers, and have launched out upon the spiritual adventures for which every new situation calls.

The development of adult education in our own time cannot properly be understood without recalling a few of the events in national life which influenced it deeply.

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In the last year of the nineteenth century the Board of Education was created, and three years later School Boards were abolished in favour of three hundred and eighteen Local Education Authorities in England and Wales, of which the Counties and County Boroughs (one hundred and forty-five in all) were given powers to provide secondary education. Lord Salisbury's County Councils Act of 1888 had already resulted in a great development of local government, participation in which has justly been described as the most educative form of political life. The modern universities were becoming a powerful factor in the higher education of our young people, not only making a degree course possible for thousands who could never have gone up to the ancient universities or have been accommodated there, but also—a matter of possibly still greater importance—penetrating the civic consciousness of great cities, as these grew rapidly in material prosperity, with a sense of cultural obligations and potentialities. To London, Durham, Manchester and the University of Wales were added within the first ten years of this century Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol and several colleges of university rank, one of which, Reading, has lately received its charter as a fully-established university, while others, such as Nottingham and Exeter, have long been fulfilling many of the functions of one.

On the other hand organized Labour was discovering that its new claim to direct representation in Parliament, the increasing recognition of it by employers as the proper channel of negotiation with their workpeople, and its growing solidarity and co-operation with organized Labour in other lands, required leadership of a high order, as well as intelligence and discipline among the rank and file. The Co-operative Movement steadily increased the volume and variety of its operations. Interest in local government and service upon public bodies taught very ordinary men and women how to use unsuspected abilities, and reminded them somewhat sharply of deficiencies and limitations. Cheap newspapers and books were multiplied in number. The perennial questions of freedom and self-government were

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made grimly living and urgent again by affairs in Armenia just before the new century began, and by the South African War, with its embitterment of national antagonisms and its physical horrors, just after The Taff Vale Judgment of 1901 and the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 created deep feeling respecting the right of Trade Unions to spend their funds on political activities, and their corporate responsibility for the acts of their agents. A little later came the struggle over Women's Suffrage.

Such were some of the factors in the rebirth of adult education in England. The two forms in which working men had most clearly and concretely expressed their hopes and purposes after a century of developing freedom were the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Movement. Certain University Extension lecturers had consistently sought support from members of both organizations, but more particularly from Co-operators. Mr Albert Mansbridge, himself a Co-operative employee and lecturer, and brought up in a characteristic Co-operative and Trade Union atmosphere, was a University Extension enthusiast, but he had the knowledge and insight to lay his finger on one of the vital reasons why University Extension had so largely failed in its appeal to working men and women. It was because the management, as Dr Mansbridge says in *An Adventure in Working Class Education*, "centrally was carried out exclusively by the Universities, and locally by committees on which working people exercised little or no influence." The necessary principle he thus formulates: "In the development of working class education the scholar and administrator must sit side by side with the adult student, at the same table, in perfect freedom. The initiative must lie with the students. They must say how, why, what, or when they wish to study. It is the business of their colleagues the scholars and administrators to help them to the satisfaction of their desires."

Long experience has taught working-class people to act together. It was only by combination that they won position after position in the struggle for freedom which lasted throughout the nineteenth century. They have

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come therefore to trust their organizations to an extraordinary degree. The Labour movement is in general intensely humanitarian, driven by a belief in the value of men, women and children as persons. But any approach, to be effective, must be through the recognized channel of the union or society. Mechanics' Institutes, People's Colleges, University Extension, Adult Schools, and other enterprises of last century had won the allegiance of individual working people by the thousand. Yet they had not made them feel that the business was their own. When, in 1902, Albert Mansbridge and his wife founded "An Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men" it was with the intention of creating an alliance between the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Movement, and the Universities. The first Branch of the Association was formed at Reading in 1904. In the following year the name of the Association was changed to the Workers' Educational Association, and the first national Conference took place at Oxford. Meanwhile the Co-operative Union, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress had given official adhesion to the movement, and their representatives formed the nucleus of a central body which now affiliates over two thousand organizations of all kinds concerned with adult education. The local branches similarly were built up by representation from working-class and other bodies prepared to co-operate. The Rev W. Temple (now Archbishop of York) and Bishop Gore lent specially valuable support from the university side, and Dr J B Paton was another wholehearted advocate. Conferences and meetings were held all over the country, district organizations were created, lectures, classes, and discussion groups of divers kinds were successfully promoted.

In 1906 the success of the work at Rochdale, where the W E A branch had strongly supported University Extension and a number of students were eager to do more advanced and concentrated work, led Mr. Mansbridge to suggest that thirty of them should pledge themselves to attend a class regularly for two years and

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to write essays, if a first-class tutor could be secured. Mr. R. H. Tawney undertook the tutorship, and also that of a similar class at Longton, where also there was a keen group of University Extension students. The Oxford University Extension Delegacy took the classes under its auspices, with the aid of a grant made by New College. From a conference held during the Extension Summer Meeting at Oxford in 1906, came a resolution asking the University to appoint seven representatives to meet an equal number of Labour representatives nominated by the W.E.A. in order that a report on the new venture might be prepared. This was duly arranged, and the Committee published its famous Report on *Oxford and Working Class Education* in 1909. Soon all the other universities and university colleges had accepted the proposals therein set forth, and had established joint committees, equally representative of the university concerned and of labour organizations (through the W.E.A.), for the conduct of tutorial classes. A Central Joint Advisory Committee for Tutorial Classes was then established. The Board of Education agreed to lend its aid, formulating regulations under which it contributed a substantial part of the tutor's salary in respect of efficient classes. The basis of each class was that there should be a maximum of thirty-two students, pledged to meet for two hours a week for twenty-four weeks in each of three successive years, and to do the written work required by the tutor. There were no examinations. The method was that of an opening by the tutor followed by discussion. Each class aimed at reaching, by the end of its three years' work, something like university honours standard in the subject studied. The Board's Inspectors have encouraged and stimulated the work in every way possible, and there has been complete freedom for the expression of all points of view, the tutor's business being to see that the class has taken all the main facts and schools of thought into consideration, and that it has not been exploited for propagandist purposes.

Here there were united the basic principles of democratic control, spiritual freedom, intellectual com-

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petence and thoroughness, abstention from sectarian or party-political propaganda, and the concentration upon the individual student possible in a discussion class averaging a score of members as against a lecture audience of three or four hundred (though it was always the practice for Extension lectures to be followed by class work with a small group of the "hearers") The W E A. has co-operated with Working Men's Clubs and Co-operative Societies, Adult Schools, Social and Educational Settlements, and other organizations in providing classes for their members Moreover "one-year" classes, study groups, and other types of work were developed as well as university tutorial classes But it could hardly be expected that one organization, however vigorous, enterprising, and comprehensive, would meet all the needs, or that its policy and methods would be unchallenged

One need was that of even more concentrated study, for at any rate a few upon whom special responsibilities of leadership were likely to fall, than tutorial classes could afford But the effort to meet it had been launched before the W.E A. scheme had evolved in the mind of Albert Mansbridge Ruskin College, Oxford, was founded in 1899 as a result of the enthusiasm and generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Vrooman, American citizens with a special interest in English democratic, social and educational developments The College was intended to provide a full year, and in some cases two, of whole-time residential study for working-men on lines that would equip them for fuller service to the cause of Labour, whether industrially, politically, or socially. Trade Unions appointed representatives to the College Council in virtue of scholarships provided from their funds. The College life was simple, the men doing a certain amount of the necessary domestic work themselves. The course was built up about the social sciences, though literary and historical subjects also could be taken. Senior members of the University took a keen interest in the work and were very ready to help. But there was a certain suspicion among Ruskin College men of the "bourgeois" character and teaching which they

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supposed to infect everyone connected with the University, though now and again some Ruskin men fraternized with a few undergraduates. On the other side there was a curiosity amounting to superciliousness among certain university people. The College, however, did valuable work and is stronger to-day than at any time in its history.

In 1909 a small group of Ruskin College students took the view that the teaching given in the College was not sufficiently class-conscious, and they formed the Plebs League in order to promote a definitely Marxist trend in working-class adult education. A controversy between the Principal and the Governing Body of Ruskin College complicated matters, and finally some of the students went on strike. The upshot was the foundation of the Central Labour College, London, supported by two of the great Trade Unions (which continued their support of Ruskin College, however), and providing a two-year course of residential study from the Marxist and class-conscious point of view.

There followed the growth of Labour Colleges—local organizations consisting of a group of students taught by tutors whose specific qualification was not academic, but the fact that they were themselves working-men and either had been students at the Labour College in London or had prepared themselves by reading Plebs text-books and other literature of the approved type. The local Colleges were not residential, and corresponded to a W.E.A. branch or Adult School rather than to any organization to which the term college has usually been applied. It was a distinguishing feature of the Labour College movement that it owed nothing to orthodox educational institutions, books or teachers, and repudiated the thought of State or rate aid. "Independent Working Class Education" was its slogan, and it boasted that it could and did produce its own teachers and text-books. The Labour College in London continues its work. The Local Colleges, which began in Glasgow and on Clydeside, are drawn together in a National Council of Labour Colleges, based upon the eleven districts (each with an organizing tutor) into which the Colleges are grouped. The Plebs League is

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a propagandist body composed mainly of students and ex-students in Labour Colleges, and its function is to promote the spread of "I.W.C.E.," but it has also (notably in the National Strike of 1926) taken a considerable part in industrial and political action.

The Trades Union Congress General Committee sought to bring together and co-ordinate the varying streams of educational effort connected with organized Labour, and set up an Educational Committee comprising representatives of the W.E.A., the N.C.L.C., the Co-operative Union Education Committee, Ruskin College, and the London Labour College. It was proposed that the Congress should take over responsibility for Ruskin College and the Labour College, and the Countess of Warwick offered Easton Lodge as a building that might be transformed for the common use. Negotiations fell through, however, and the net result is a concordat under which each body co-ordinated by the T.U.C. Education Committee is free to carry on its own work and propaganda while abstaining from criticism of the good faith of the others.

Another line of development was through the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee and was initiated by the Iron and Steel Workers' Confederation. The plan was that the Union should arrange with working-class educational bodies, to which it paid a capitation fee, that they should provide educational facilities free for such members of the Union as wished them. In practice this has become an arrangement between certain Unions and the W.E.A.

Quite different in type are the classes conducted, under university auspices and Board of Education Regulations, by the National Industrial Alliance. The effort was born of the recognition that mutual understanding in industry is possible only if on both sides there is a breadth of view resulting from cultural discipline. But it does not appear likely to achieve very far-reaching results.

The Co-operative Movement has a very large and effective educational section in each district, with a Central Committee for the purpose of co-ordinating the

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work, assisting it by issuing an annual Educational Programme, conducting a Co-operative College where students can take a year's full-time course, and so forth. The onus of arranging classes rests on local Co-operative Societies, which continue to devote a percentage of their profits to educational work. Broadly speaking, the education directly provided by the local, district and central committees is of a technical character, relating to the principles of co-operative manufacture and distribution of goods, and the societies subsidize classes in cultural subjects organized by such bodies as the W E A., or by Local Education Authorities, and attended by Co-operators.

Adult education, as we shall see, is by no means co-extensive, as some suppose, with workers' education. It is well, however, to consider at this point the special significance of these varying efforts to permeate working-class organizations with educational activity. It will be seen that the predominant aims remain the same as in the nineteenth century—the development of free men and women capable of realizing and discharging their personal and social responsibilities. The Labour Colleges illustrate the paradox that any effort in the name of freedom to indoctrinate men and women with preconceived philosophies and formulæ, instead of giving them the material for arriving at their own interpretation of experience, must end in putting both mind and spirit in chains. The Labour College is a secular counterpart in the sphere of education of the dogmatic authority exerted by certain Churches, Roman and Protestant—the more subtle because without sanctions. It flies in the face of the truth about democracy enunciated so clearly by Viscount Grey in the words quoted at the beginning of this chapter. It exalts one school of thought to a position of autocracy instead of regarding it as illuminating a single aspect of truth, and it accepts as complete and final a selection of facts in human life. Professor Laski, in his book on *Communism*, and the Master of Balliol in one entitled *Marx' Capital*, have shown that those facts and that contribution to the understanding of social processes must be reckoned with,

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but they cannot be made the sole basis of education. Serious students, even though they begin with the narrowed conceptions promulgated by the Labour Colleges, discover this, and demand both a wider range of subjects and a knowledge of what can credibly be said from other points of view. In the long run human hunger for truth, for intellectual freedom, and for the unification of experience, will prevail.

Meantime the success of the Labour Colleges on their present basis is due beyond question to the emphasis they lay upon education as a weapon of class-warfare. Their aim is to equip people who are conscious of what life lacks to do something that will bring about a definite and revolutionary change. It would be foolish and ungenerous to deny that they have done much to stimulate among their constituency the conviction that a man must know, and reflect upon his knowledge, if he would be free. And their constituency undoubtedly includes many who feel most keenly and deeply the intolerable injustice and folly, the spiritual poverty and ugliness, of so much in the social and economic conditions of our time. Adult education must "speak to the condition" of men, as Fox did in religion, if it is to win those whose environment and status are in themselves deadening.

In the Co-operative Movement we find an example of education largely subordinated to the service of a particular method of social and economic organization. That method is constructive and practical. But, in the nature of the case, there is a tendency on the part of students to become absorbed in making themselves efficient co-operators in the narrower sense of participation in a great industrial enterprise. From the days of Owen, and later of the Rochdale Pioneers, the Societies have fostered a fine idealism, and in many places have proved the mainstay of educational work done by purely cultural organizations such as the Adult Schools, the W.E.A., and University Extension. Some, like the Royal Arsenal Society, Woolwich, carry out an extensive programme of their own. The movement has done much to educate its members in international

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sympathies. Yet it has always to guard against too limited an interpretation of its great aims

The W.E.A. has been working at a twofold problem fundamental in the development of liberal education among the great mass of the population. It has sought to create the proper relationship between the social and political organizations of the people themselves and a formulated educational expression of their cultural ideals. It has been concerned with the relationship between voluntary organizations, universities, Local Education Authorities, and the State. The Association has demonstrated the responsiveness of working folk to opportunities of study at a high level in a wide range of subjects, including philosophy, science, literature, history and the arts, as well as economics and the science of politics. The question that confronts it now is how it is to fulfil its function as essentially the free, purposeful activity of a definite section of the population, without becoming sectarian. How may it keep its pristine quality of social and spiritual adventure while conforming to academic standards and State regulations? Will it preserve its ideal of insisting that students shall acquaint themselves with the vital facts and arguments on both sides, and then form their own judgments freely and individually, without making a cult of mere emasculate "impartiality"? Can it resist the temptation to become partisan inseparable from its great task as a working-class movement?

Turning now to bodies which do not make a specific appeal to one section of the population rather than another, we find that the older movements, such as University Extension and the Adult Schools, maintain their vigour. The re-organization of the Extra-mural Departments of Oxford and Cambridge, accompanied by the allocation to them of greater financial resources, has enabled them to increase their efforts on the Extension as well as the Tutorial Class side of their work. Since 1924 the Board of Education has given grants to Extension Courses, basing these not upon the number of people who attend lectures, which is unlimited, but upon that of the students who do efficient classwork in con-

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nection with each lecture, and limiting the size of these classes. This has made more concentrated work feasible from the financial point of view. The Adult Schools, by the issue of an annual *Lesson Handbook* and the development of week-end lecture schools and short summer schools, have given new and effective form to the directly educational element in their approach to the needs and impulses of the entire man.

The institutional type of voluntary organization, so popular in the nineteenth century, still has flourishing representatives. Side by side with the London Working Men's College must be placed Morley College and the College for Working Women, Fitzroy Square (which has now taken the name of Francis Martin College), all three being non-residential and providing for leisure-time studies only.

Provision for whole-time residential study has made great progress. In 1909 Fircroft was established at Bournville as a residential college for working men, giving from one to three terms of study on lines originally suggested by the experience of the Danish High Schools. Ten years later a Residential College for Working Women was established by the Y.W.C.A. at Beckenham, and subsequently developed by an independent governing body. On removing to permanent premises at Surbiton it took the name of Hillcroft College for Working Women. Each college gives a cultural course which is intended neither to qualify students for any particular calling nor to prepare them for any examination, but to enrich and discipline their intellectual and social life. Most students take the whole year (at Hillcroft they must do so), and return to their original occupations at the end. Some discover latent capacities for other than their previous callings and go on to institutions where they receive the requisite training. A few prove suitable candidates for bursaries given by universities to adult students so that they may take full intra-mural courses of study. Financial aid is forthcoming from Educational Trusts, Local Education Authorities, and other sources for those who cannot meet the cost themselves. The aim of these Colleges is to

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equip their students for a fuller personal life and for the service of the community. The most recently established is Coleg Harlech, a residential centre for adult education in Wales. Avoncroft, near Evesham, founded by the Fircroft Trustees in 1925 as a residential College for Agricultural Workers, makes vocation the basis of a cultural training. A distinctive type is the remaining instance—the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford, where men and women are given a one or two years' course modelled on the requirements for the University Diploma in Economics and Political Science, and in a Roman Catholic atmosphere, though most of the lectures they attend are given by lecturers at the various Colleges in the University. The students at these Colleges are recruited from various sources—W E A., Adult Schools, Catholic Study Clubs, Educational Settlements, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and so forth. Old students participate in the government of the Colleges, and the interests mentioned above in connection with W E A. work are represented on the College Councils. They show that it is possible to provide the education that working people desire without relying wholly upon the initiative of organized Labour itself, or giving the entire control to the political and industrial bodies created by the working classes as such.

Since the War several new and significant forms of adult education have come into prominence. Women's Institutes were introduced into Great Britain from Canada, the principle being that of uniting all the women in a village, without respect to creed, class, or politics, for the promotion of common interests in homecraft, handicraft, the study of literature, local government, and other subjects of increasing interest to women, especially since the extension of the franchise to all women over the age of twenty-one on the same qualification as men. The primary purpose of the Institutes was to assist women in food production, poultry-keeping, and other methods of increasing the common resources during war time. Now they have become one of the strongest forces for the regeneration of village life, an educational influence in the widest

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sense, quite apart from the provision of set lectures or classes

During the War the Y.M.C.A. was entrusted by the military authorities with great opportunities of educational work among the troops at home and overseas. It set up a Committee representing all the Universities of Great Britain, the chief voluntary organizations for adult education, and other bodies able to contribute experience to the work, which assumed very large proportions. One outcome was effectually to incorporate education of a liberal type in the peace-time programme of the Association, which previously had done little in this way beyond courses of popular lectures or debating societies, though in many places it had provided facilities for commercial and professional evening classes. The Y.W.C.A. developed its educational work in a similar way, though on a smaller scale.

In 1914, Mr. Horace Fleming founded Beechcroft, Birkenhead, the first Educational Settlement, where existing groups such as the W.E.A. and Adult Schools came together at a common centre, not only to carry on their own work but specifically to enjoy that fellowship among students and tutors which is a great factor in true education. The University soon came to regard the Settlement as an extra-mural outpost. Many new voluntary groups, as widely differing as a Drama Society, a Parsons' and Laymen's Fellowship, and a Labour College, were drawn in. Government was devised on a democratic basis giving half the seats on the Council to student representatives, and half to representatives of voluntary organizations, the University, the Local Education Authority, and the Trades and Labour Council. The idea of community centres of adult education, and the principle of self-government as a vital element in education for citizenship, having thus been introduced, similar experiments in other places followed, and now there are a dozen Educational Settlements in different parts of England, associated together, and with five of the Residential Colleges, in the Educational Settlements Association. Leitchworth Settlement serves some ten villages surrounding the Garden

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City in which it is situated, and the village students play a full part in its life. Percival Guildhouse, Rugby, owes its buildings to the Old Rugbeians' Association, and it is distinguished by uniting on its Council the representatives of the School, the University of Cambridge, the L.E.A., the voluntary organizations for adult education in the neighbourhood, most, if not all, of the Churches and Trade Unions of Rugby, and the political parties.

The importance of this movement is in devising a method of true community education which secures a complete range of provision from the most informal groups to the most advanced type of class, while bringing into fruitful fellowship men and women of the most diverse views, interests and circumstances. It places the main responsibility on the people of the neighbourhood, and seeks to foster an education which is indeed spirit and life.

The Settlements modelled upon Toynbee Hall, though constituted on the more general basis of social service, always included adult education in their programme. Some have increasingly found their energies absorbed in direct social work, educative in its influence, but mainly recreative or philanthropic in form, while their government is largely by committees appointed by personal supporters and subscribers, instead of by the people for whose benefit the Settlement exists. Some, however, have maintained and developed their educational work and others are seeking to give it greater prominence.

The Churches during the last two decades have made a beginning of educational work among adults, chiefly in subjects directly connected with religion. The most definite form of this has for twenty years past been the study circles promoted by the Missionary Societies, but in 1909 Father Plater started the Catholic Study Clubs in connection with the Catholic Social Guild, while in 1917 Dr Temple, Dr Mansbridge, and Dr. Gore initiated the Church Tutorial Classes in the Church of England. Both movements have now become firmly established and are rapidly extending. The Society of Friends also

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has encouraged serious study among both its old and its younger members, and Woodbrooke, Birmingham, founded by the late George Cadbury and a group of friends, with Dr Rendel Harris as first Director of Studies, has proved an inspiring place of study for Friends and others wishing to spend a short time in equipping themselves for special forms of religious, educational and social service, and also a centre of international intercourse among students from many lands. It is now the centre of a group of Colleges¹ providing special training for Sunday School Teachers, Missionaries, Y.W.C.A. Secretaries, and others.

Here again adult education is associated with one predominant interest, that of religion. The twofold task has been to show that the study of religion is as true and attractive a means of culture, and as necessary, as any other subject, while proving that it can be pursued without sectarian bias. Even greater has been the evidence that spiritual vitality is increased, not diminished, by intellectual vigour, and that breadth and keenness of both knowledge and thought are not made impossible but are rather ensured by deep religious enthusiasm.

Local Education Authorities are taking to an increasing extent that share in adult education which the Education Act of 1918 made incumbent upon them and the Board of Education policy encourages. Most find it wisest to aid and support the activities of voluntary bodies. Some make direct provision also. The London County Council, in its Literary Evening Institutes, has achieved remarkable success, and in its Men's Institutes has proved the value of hobbies and handicrafts as a means of education for men who neither have nor are likely to develop any sustained interest in books, lectures, or formal classes. The National Union of Teachers is exhibiting a keen interest in adult education and is urging that Local Education Authorities should take a larger share in it. The problems that emerge here we shall consider later. Underlying them is the question of how best a public Authority can provide an untrammelled and liberal, as contrasted with a purely

¹ Furocroft and Avoncroft also are members of this group

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technical and commercial, education for adults. Such an Authority obviously is in fact the whole community acting together, and is consequently in logic the proper body to provide adult education. Yet it is, in the perversity of humankind, almost invariably regarded by the advocates of freedom in adult education as necessarily too repressive and official for such a function, while also experience proves that as a rule voluntary bodies are more successful in recruiting students.

Libraries and museums are much more wisely and efficiently administered than they were a generation ago, libraries in particular serving as agents of adult education not only through the supply of serious books, but also in the choice of fine fiction, popular biography, travel-books, and other more recreational literature for issue to the public. The development, with the generous and statesmanlike assistance of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, of County Libraries based upon the County Council organization under the Libraries Act of 1921, has brought books within the reach of all. To Dr Mansbridge's inspiration we owe the Central Library for Students, which ensures "to every adult student his book," and the Seafarers' Library Service, which offers every man in the ships of many of our great passenger and cargo lines of steamships the chance of spending his off-duty hours on long voyages in reading.

Museums, in England at any rate, were in existence before the rise of popular education, for the British Museum was founded in 1753. During the middle period of the nineteenth century they took considerable hold on the imagination of the more intelligent working folk, as we perceive from the frequent references to both museums and libraries in pamphlets and books which touch upon the growth of culture among the population of the great manufacturing areas. They have been starved financially, however, and have never been properly co-ordinated either with each other or with the general system of education. These hindrances to the full utilization of the educational potentialities of museums are stressed in the Interim Report (1928) of the Royal Commission on National Museums and

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Galleries, but the Commissioners take occasion to recount and to commend the growing co-operation between museums and schools in certain places. Sir Henry Miers, in the independent *Report (1929) on The Public Museums of the British Isles (other than the National Museums)* prepared by him for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, takes note not only of this, but also of the special value of museums in the development of adult education, though he observes that there has been a lack of demand on the part of adult students, largely due to the comparative failure of adult educational bodies to stimulate interest in scientific subjects. On the other hand, as he says, "The work of a museum in all its aspects is to some extent educational for adults and children alike, and if . . . about three-quarters of its visitors are persons of whom nothing is known, the net must obviously be spread wide in order to capture the intellectual interests of such a miscellaneous body." If that work is well done, it should result, as Sir Henry suggests, in the growth of student groups which may develop into definite classes for systematic study.

The increase of popular interest in archæological excavation, the arrangements made by curators for conducting visitors round the exhibits, and the provision of particularly interesting popular lectures at the museums themselves are both signs of a more educational use of museums and means towards it.

In America much greater progress has been made regarding the treatment of museums as natural centres of informal education for both children and adults, as also in the matter of direct and close co-operation between the museums and the schools. Certainly far more has been done to relate the development of adult education to the facilities which museums afford. The American Association of Museums took the initiative in the very excellent arrangement recently made between it and the National Education Association to bring about close contact between the two organizations and to promote fuller co-operation and mutual service.

To attempt even a brief reference to the development of museums as a factor in adult education as this may

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be observed, for example, in the more progressive countries of Europe would be beyond our present scope. It is a large and fruitful topic in itself. But perhaps sufficient has been said to bring out the main point, which is that the use of museums should play an important part in the education of adults, and that, though this is now being appreciated more fully and practically than before by all concerned, much remains to be done in order that the possibilities in this direction may be fulfilled.

In 1917 the Prime Minister appointed a strong committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction to consider the position and possibilities of adult education. Its *Final Report*, presented in 1919, was the most thorough survey of adult education in England that has yet been made, and its recommendations had very great effect. One result of its work was the appointment in 1921 by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, then President of the Board of Education, of an Advisory Committee on the Liberal Education of Adults, reconstituted by successive Presidents in 1923, 1925 and 1927. This body has prepared for the Board a number of valuable reports on various aspects of adult education, and has done much to fulfil its other main function of stimulating co-operation, local and national, between the agencies, and extending the range and methods of liberal education for adults. The Board of Education consulted it in preparing the new Regulations for Adult Education, issued in 1924, which separated adult education definitely from technical and evening classes and offered financial aid to new and more informal types. The Committee also co-operated with the Home Office in establishing the Prisoners' Education Scheme now operative in all H. M. Prisons.

The effect of these events has been to set adult education in its proper place within the national system of education—the place contemplated by Mr. Fisher in his epoch-making Act.

Lord Haldane and a few friends in 1921 established the British Institute of Adult Education, a widely representative but private society of individual persons

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concerned with the study and advocacy of adult education. An impartial body like this, which organizes no educational work itself, is invaluable for the interchange of experience, criticism, and suggestion among those actively engaged in the various forms of adult education, while it is able also to bring considerable weight of influence to bear upon public opinion. The Institute makes research a definite part of its activities and has had a special share in certain important inquiries into problems of adult education.

The tendency of the adult education movement since the beginning of the present century is seen therefore to be towards an increasing comprehensiveness of subject, method, and constituency. It is as yet far from being the education of the whole of the people for the whole of life. But it is no longer a mere effort to bring a section of the population up to the average level, nor is it a philanthropic affair. Freedom and democracy are its keynotes. While remaining essentially unconventional it is addressed more and more to the practical issues of life and experience, as well as to the happy and fruitful use of leisure. Essentially the same forces are at work in the twentieth century as in the nineteenth. There are more aids to the progress of the work, and a wider interest in the movement in general. But clarity of purpose and harmonization of effort (without loss of group autonomy or variety of interest and method) is more urgently necessary than ever. Otherwise there will develop an antagonism more marked than even at present between those who should recognize each other as partners, though working in "the other ship," and there may emerge also a possibility on the one hand of exploiting adult education for political or industrial purposes, and on the other of making it a sentimental fashion. The avoidance of these dangers and the full development of adult education as a personal and social resource demands deeper, and at the same time more liberal, thinking as to what we are all about.

Of necessity this chapter has dealt with developments in Great Britain. Other countries have a similar tale to tell. Lack of space and the desirability of avoiding

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confusion in the narrative are the sole reasons for not referring to these in chronologically appropriate places or with a fullness corresponding to their importance. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa the chief forms in which experiments have been made are W.E.A. and University Extension work, but comparatively little progress has been made thus far. India is feeling after methods suited to her vast and complicated problem, which includes the civilization of the outcaste, the social redemption of the new industrial centres, and the further education of those who have passed through university courses which have merely crammed them with a more or less alien knowledge. Nationalism and the growing demand for self-government make the need of adult education vital in all classes of the community. The Y M C A. has done valuable work both in agricultural villages and among students in university cities, but one of the primary problems is the creation of demand. In China and Japan there has been more spontaneous development, fostered by Y. M. C. A. and Social Settlement work, the latter specially in Japan. Eminent Chinese and Japanese, sent over by their Governments, are among the keenest inquirers into what is being done in the West to educate both the working and the middle classes. A recent venture in Japan has been the starting, by Dr. Kanji Kato, of a High School on the Danish model, as a result of the prolonged study he has given to education in Denmark.

It is in certain countries of Europe and in America, however, that the greatest advance has been made. Scandinavia and Germany are perhaps the most clearly marked centres of effort in Europe, though Czechoslovakia has a very fine record, Holland has its Social Settlements, Italy its *Universita Popolari*, and Austria its Settlements and *Volksbildungsherne*.

In Scandinavia the Danish High School method has spread to Norway and Sweden. Other forms of lecturing and discussion work also have been evolved. In Denmark itself the High Schools have not yet made headway in the industrial centres, though one or two efforts have been made and there are Labour High Schools in Copen-

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hagen and Esbjerg. A new type of High School on an international basis has been built up by Mr. Peter Manniche at Helsingor.

Inasmuch as the People's High Schools of Denmark have kindled so much interest in other countries, and particularly, during the last few years, in the United States, it is desirable at this point to add a little to what has already been said in an earlier chapter about them. The principles governing their work, and to a considerable extent the methods which they use in it, remain what they were when the Movement began, three-quarters of a century ago. As all observers agree, Denmark owes much of her present enlightenment and prosperity to the widespread influence of the High Schools upon her national life. Naturally this provokes the question whether experiments on similar lines in other lands would not be likely to produce equally happy effects. Simple transplantation of an organization, of course, would probably prove a failure. Every living educational institution owes its vitality in large part to its intimate correspondence with the particular genius and circumstances of the country in which it has grown up, and these are rarely reproduced elsewhere. Some modification of the Danish High School would be necessary in every instance of its implantation on foreign soil.

The supremely important consideration with regard to the Danish Schools, however, is that Denmark is primarily an agricultural country, that the small holdings system is characteristic of the whole Danish countryside, and that secondary education is comparatively undeveloped. The last-mentioned fact is no accident. The opinion is widely held in Denmark that by far the best course, from all standpoints, for children who have come to the end of their elementary education is to go out and work with their hands in the fields, learning in this way what farm work is, than to continue attendance either for a part or for the whole of their time at schools where they would receive what is commonly called higher education. Even before they leave the elementary schools, children often spend a considerable amount of time away from their classes, working on the land, at

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the busier seasons of the year. But at eighteen, or a little later, they are encouraged to take a term, or perhaps two, in successive years, at a High School. Mr. Holger Begtrup and his collaborators in their authoritative book on the subject, *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community* (the title itself is illuminating), say quite frankly that "The aim of the folk high-schools has been, and still is, to become an educational institution for the whole people, for rich and poor, for town and country, for industrial workers and farmers. But so far, the great majority of the students of the high-schools have come from the country, and particularly from the farming classes. Very few young people from the towns have attended the schools: in 1920-21, out of 7,006 students, they numbered 348, and the inhabitants of the towns form 43 per cent of the total population" About 55 per cent. of the students are sons or daughters of small farmers, and 17 per cent those of smallholders. Summer schools lasting for a week each are now held with a view to creating in those who attend them a desire for the full course, and in this way a few more students from other classes in the community are being recruited, but still it is a fact that in 1922-23 the students from the country taking the full High School course constituted 30 per cent of the rural youth of Denmark, while only 1 per cent. of the youth of the town areas were in attendance.

The romantic treatment of history tends now to be replaced in the Schools by a more realistic study, with greater emphasis upon recent periods, and some teachers are placing increasing emphasis upon sociology and the historical development of society. "The majority of our students," says Mr. Begtrup, however, "take, unfortunately, very little interest in social problems, the Danish rural population live under very good social conditions, while the young people of the industrial classes, who are intensely absorbed with plans for social reconstruction, rarely attend the folk-high-schools." The purpose of the Schools is, as it has always been, cultural and not technical. While there are now about

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sixty Schools in Denmark only ten of them have a definitely agricultural curriculum "The high-schools," Mr. Begtrup tells us, "do not prepare pupils for a life of study. Their object is to enable pupils to return to their daily work with a deeper understanding of human life and its problems" There are no examinations. Grundtvig's belief in "the living word" still prevails. Informal lectures and song remain the accepted methods of instructing and inspiring the students, though "stress is now laid upon the pupil's personal work with book and pen," and efforts are made to promote discussion of what the teacher has said

Dr. J. K. Hart is enthusiastic in his advocacy of the Danish High School spirit and method, and in *Adult Education* he sums up the outcome for the individual student thus "In these few months, the students come to grips with reality They face history, the contemporary world and its problems, and the future They consider typical old solutions of life's perplexities, and typical modern solutions They become acquainted with some of the great minds of the ages, and what those minds have stood for in the story of humanity. They get a few great clues as to the trends and meanings of human living. And they go home at the end of their terms, or at least some of them do, with a few choice books—all they can afford—and with the names of others, to spend some real part of the rest of their lives *continuing their own educations*. This last fact is the justification of the shortness of the term at these schools. These schools exist to *awaken the minds* of the students, not to fill those minds." It is interesting to compare this valuation with the very similar one made forty years ago by the Danish Inspector quoted in the description already given of the earlier history of the High Schools. Obviously such an awakening has the further value of making these young people more intelligent and effective as students if and when they take up courses of technical training for which an elementary education would, by itself, be an inadequate preparation. That is of course recognized by those who urge them to attend. But the aim of the Schools is to develop idealism, an

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enlightened patriotism, and a sense of responsibility, all based in great measure upon religious, or at least moral, feeling.

It is doubtful whether institutions modelled precisely on the Danish High School pattern would flourish or prove fruitful in any country where economic and social conditions are quite different from those in Denmark. We have seen how, in other countries, a similar spirit of freedom from academicism, a comparable insistence upon humanism and fellowship in serious study at either residential or non-residential centres, find expression under varying forms. But in no other country has any one type become a part of the national tradition. Moreover, in most countries where both rural and industrial needs are being met it usually happens that the younger folk alone, and even these in only very small numbers, find it possible to obtain either the necessary release from their employment or the financial assistance they must have in order to take a residential course. On the other hand, adult students in organizations which cater for such leisure as they have after their day's work and at the week-end have generally been above the Danish High School age. As in the past, the experience of the Danish High Schools will no doubt stimulate thought and experiment among those who are concerned with the development of adult education in other countries, whether mainly rural, mainly industrial, or mixed in character. Dr. Hart would like to see the principle worked out under American conditions, but even he appears to think of this chiefly as a matter for the countryside, though he has hopes of something like it in town community centres. He says "We cannot have community education, such as this Danish folk education is, without communities," and he points to the community spirit manifest in Danish rural life. Yet we are compelled to ask which came first, or whether it is not truer to say that each helps on the growth of the other.

Since the War, and more especially as a consequence of the Revolution of 1919, when Germany became a Republic, the *Volkshochschulen* have taken a strong grip

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of working-class life, especially in the Rhineland, Thuringia, Berlin, Leipzig, and Stuttgart. These have various tendencies—socialist, religious, "neutral," and so forth—in accordance with local circumstances. They provide short courses and follow the method of group-discussion under a qualified leader. In university centres working-class and other organizations, the municipality, and the university co-operate in conducting them. Some sixty resident "folk high schools," likewise promoted by bodies of differing outlook, are now in existence. These are more akin to the Danish Folk High Schools than to the British residential colleges for adults in scope, method, and length of course. Workers' Colleges at Dusseldorf and Berlin give a year's course of study in economics, politics, and trade union administration. The Frankfurt Academy of Labour has sixty students, carefully selected from the workers' organizations, who receive a year's thorough training in "the fundamental questions of economic, social, and labour theories, law, politics and philosophy." All these forms of the newer adult education movement in Germany represent the spontaneous effort of self-governing working-class groups, supported financially by municipality, State, or Reich, and strengthened educationally by the ready participation, official and otherwise, of university and high school teachers. Before the War People's Institutes like the *Volksbildungshelm* at Frankfurt were strong but were like a continuation of the English Polytechnics and People's Colleges, and were less definitely than the *Volkshochschulen* an expression of organized working-class life, relying mainly upon the lecture method. they continue to serve the needs of a very large number of men and women. In the Ruhr a strong left wing Labour education movement was developed in the early days of the Republic, but it has failed to hold its own. Germany was the first State to institute, after the War, a department of adult education at the *Kultusministerium* in Berlin, the function of the Department being to advise and support local and voluntary effort rather than to prescribe or organize work on its own account.

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Adult education in the United States may be traced back to the Lyceums, of which the first was founded in 1826 and some three thousand had sprung up by 1834. A gift of books from the city of Paris to the city of Boston in 1841 laid the foundations of the great edifice of public libraries in the United States. As Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher shows in *Why Stop Learning?*, the starting of the Women's Club movement in 1866 and the development, through the Chautauquas, at about the same time, of popular public lecturing, revealed the immense possibilities of educational work, and two decades later University Extension, greatly strengthened when Dr Moulton went from the English movement to America, took hold of the American imagination. The tendency has been, however, for the universities (and the American Y M C A also) to provide technical and commercial courses leading to the acquirement of vocational qualifications and credits for degrees. The Social Settlements have rendered a special service in connection with the education of immigrant adults from the continent of Europe. Workers' Education began a few years ago in the efforts of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and in course of time there developed the Workers' Educational Bureau, analogous to the British W E A, certain residential colleges for working people (of which Brookwood and Pocono are the most important), and alongside these a Marxist movement. A notable university experiment is the Bryn Mawr Summer School for working women, the success of which has stimulated enterprise of a similar kind on the part of three or four other universities. During the last twenty years the middle classes have been attracted as well by institutions like the Lowell Institute at Boston, the Rand School of Social Science, and the New School of Social Research, at New York, and the Open Forums. The formation, under the stimulus of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and following upon a series of special inquiries and reports financed by the Corporation, of an American Association for Adult Education, comparable to the British Institute, has already stimulated thought upon the aims, philosophy and methods of

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adult education which will have important results. Libraries in America, too, are regarding themselves primarily as adult educational institutions, and make provision for the personal guidance of readers, the issue of carefully compiled book lists for individuals, and the arrangement of lectures and study groups.

Dr. Mansbridge in 1918 founded the World Association for Adult Education, with a view to bringing together the experience of those at work in all countries, and stimulating activity in new fields. Its President is the veteran statesman and educationist, President T. G. Masaryk, of Czecho-Slovakia. Supporting National Groups now exist in several countries, and it is hoped that in the course of a few years adult education will have become a coherent and powerful international movement making for freedom, enrichment, and co-operation in every aspect of human life among all the nations in the world.

The outlook in other countries shows, as in Great Britain, that adult education cannot be divorced from the preoccupations of the people at large. Unless there fore the movement is clear of vision while generous in spirit, and strongly led while wholly democratic in its life, richly cultural while closely related to practical needs and common human interests, it will either become vague and futile, or will be exploited for ends which, legitimate and even urgent in themselves, are yet less than the great achievement which Professor A. N. Whitehead, in *Science and the Modern World*, declares to be the aim of education. "Wisdom is the fruit of balanced development. It is this balanced growth of individuality which it should be the aim of education to secure.

The problem is not how to produce great men, but how to produce great societies. The great Society will put up the men for the occasion."

CHAPTER VI

FRESH WOODS AND PASTURES NEW

PERPETUAL experiment is more than a sign of vitality. Even in elementary forms of life, where instinctive impulses are the main, if not the sole, forces at work, survival at times depends upon a kind of blind trial-and-error reaction to a changing environment. When intelligence and purpose have emerged, on higher planes of existence, they become evident in the distinction between automatic, effortless growth and true progress. Indeed experiment then becomes inseparable from anything worthy, at that stage, of the name life. "Experimental," in one connotation, is often taken to mean marginal, uncertain, perhaps a little freakish, and relatively unimportant. No doubt in education, especially primary and secondary, there has in recent years been much experiment that, however intense, has been insufficiently serious and more a matter of novelty than of creative insight. It has proceeded on the assumption that everything old is bad, and has failed to build on the foundations of experience. Nevertheless in education, particularly, established tradition dies hard. A method which has proved successful with one type of people in the characteristic circumstances of their time and country has been supposed thereby to have been proved valid for everyone at any time and in all lands. Worse than this, it has been erected, implicitly if not overtly, into a standard by which all new ventures must be measured—and measured beforehand. University extension and, later, the university tutorial class have both at certain times in this way been a perilous good. But though adult education has already shown that it is by no means immune from the tendency of all "move-

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ments " to fashion orthodoxies and conventions of their own, there is cheering evidence that such conventions are constantly being broken down under the impulse of an adventurous and missionary spirit. We are learning to look for and discern a true process of education under hitherto unusual and misunderstood forms.

The great difficulty in writing about experiments is that to generalize would be precipitate and hazardous, while also it would be to miss the vividness and the distinguishing features of the individual enterprises. The very multitude of experiments, however, and the fact that some of the most valuable are as yet still unknown to anybody except the people who are in course of trying them, renders description catalogue-wise impossible. Here only a few illustrative instances of certain fruitful tendencies can be given. But the special intention of this chapter, as indeed of the whole book, is chiefly to induce readers to look about them for new and promising forms of educational life and activity among men and women, and perhaps themselves to take some share in adding to the number.

The political and social implications of adult education have been allowed to obscure the place that the arts have taken and may take, whether in the societies organized for the pursuit of it, or independently. There has been a widespread and completely erroneous supposition that people who have lacked early educational advantages turn later to study only as one of the means to a refashioning of society and of the economic system. An equally groundless notion is that recreation has nothing to do with education, and that if people are enjoying themselves they cannot possibly at the same time be increasing their knowledge or developing their powers of thought and imagination.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the educational standards of Mechanics' Institutes had declined to a very considerable extent. The Institutes ceased (largely, as we have seen, because they were undemocratic and were afraid to permit discussion of controversial subjects) to attract the men for whom they were intended to provide. Efforts were made to intro-

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duce a social element. "Sourées" were held. All was to no purpose, and the popular "casinos" were bitterly denounced as the real enemy. These certainly had a brief vogue, as also had the Lyceums, set up by workmen themselves. Both were more free than the Institutes, and both gave opportunity for the enjoyment of music and amateur acting. But they soon lost their grip, simply because they were not educational enough.

It was not by reason of any carefully elaborated policy that, a few years later, Tom Hughes taught boxing at the Working Men's College, that Furnivall coached a students' eight on the Thames, or that Ruskin had a class in drawing. They and the other members of the group whom Maurice got to help him merely sought to share all their own special interests with their own new-found workmen friends, and they met with as ready response as when they lectured on "serious" subjects. (To this day the art room at the College is the centre of keen interest, and in it work of a high quality is done.) But they succeeded because their educational standards were as high as their programme was wide and diversified.

Somehow or other the lessons of this experience were not learned in that or the following generation. Nor did the existence, alongside the more specifically educational organizations, of philharmonic societies, choirs, and orchestras, suggest any relationship between them. Yet to these and to penny readings, popular concerts, debating societies, field clubs, and other informal and unrecognized agencies was due a gradual spreading of cultural interests among the people. In Wales the adult classes in Sunday Schools and the local and national *Eisteddfodau* were indeed the main channels of intellectual and æsthetic life, while historians of nineteenth century life in England point constantly to the influence that Methodism and other forms of Free Church life exercised in educating the working classes through their study of classical English in the Bible, the stimulus to independent thought afforded by concern with theological and ecclesiastical questions, and the development of a democratic spirit of responsibility through participation in Church government.

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Since the beginning of the present century drama has proved a potent educational force. Leaving entirely out of account the ephemeral and vapid attractions of amateur societies which spend their energies on sketches, farces, and the lighter type of one-act play, the Adult Education Committee found itself faced with an immense volume of serious activity when it investigated the place of drama in adult education. Literally hundreds of groups exist, not to provide amusement for other people, but to find expression for the tastes and capacities of their members in the study and performance of Greek and Shakespearian plays, the more significant work of modern dramatists like Ibsen, Shaw, Galsworthy, and Toller, and plays which they themselves have written. Mr Ashley Dukes has traced this development in outline and shows how the drama, thus practised, brings in a variety of arts and crafts connected with play production through the making of costumes, scenery, properties, and so forth. Moreover, the groups concerned prove eager to master the literary, historical, psychological and social questions to which such plays inevitably give rise. The Repertory and Little Theatre movements have also created a new type of audience marked, not only by its appreciation of the finer qualities in drama, but also by that sense of intimate participation in the performance which was a characteristic of Greek drama as a community affair. The British Drama League and the Village Drama Society, as well as the Arts League of Service, have done a great deal to foster this new interest. Institutions like Citizen House, Bath, and the Mary Ward Settlement, Bloomsbury, have become schools of amateur play production. Perhaps the most interesting among recent experiments is the establishment by the Independent Labour Party of a flourishing dramatic section, under the leadership of a distinguished actor and playwright, for the encouragement and assistance of drama groups connected with I L P. branches.

Educational organizations have come quite naturally to include drama in their curriculum. A keen young tutor remarked to the writer that she found her class of middle-aged people hopelessly content to read outlines

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and histories of English literature instead of the actual books under discussion so she turned the class into one on drama, involving real work on the plays studied—with excellent results. Isolated university tutorial classes have produced Greek plays which formed part of the courses they have followed. Adult schools have made considerable use of specially written or adapted short plays and, especially where they possess premises of their own as at Leicester, have found in drama a valuable permanent sphere of activity for their members. A one-year Industrial History class at an Educational Settlement recently chose to present, as its contribution to the Students' Summer Fair, a play written, costumed and produced by its own members, and depicting incidents in a mediæval market. Educational Settlements have in several instances, in addition to their more directly educational functions, become practically the Little Theatres of their neighbourhoods, and Beechcroft has invented a form of pageant play in which from two to four hundred people are concerned as actors, or as crafts-folk, working in groups for a whole summer term at the study of the period with which the play deals. Thus *The King's Jury* was treated in this manner on one occasion, and a pageant of local history was specially written for another. Community drama in such instances has acquired a widespread and deep educational influence. Similar evidence is forthcoming, of course, from America and from Germany, as also from many other countries.

Music is part and parcel of the Danish High School method, as we have seen, though it is music of a very elementary kind. Organized Labour, in Germany and Holland more particularly, has made striking use of choral singing as a cultural element in its life, and the Youth Movement in Germany, in its various forms, has found in the revival of the old folk-music a powerful force of attraction and cohesion. In Wales, naturally, music always has been a most influential element in popular culture. Recently in England the development of Musical Competition Festivals has opened out wide prospects of revived community music as a recreational and cultural factor in the life of the people, especially

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in rural areas. What can be done by community effort is illustrated by the production of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, in full operatic form, by an Educational Settlement in conjunction with the various musical societies of the town, and as a result of thorough educational work by the groups involved throughout a whole winter. But a specially interesting experiment is that of the "Music Settlements" of the United States, where facilities are offered, at a common centre and for very small fees, to people in a comparatively poor neighbourhood for the individual and group study and practice of music under the guidance of first-class professional and amateur tutors and leaders, who attach themselves to the Settlement for that purpose.

In Czecho-Slovakia, before the World War, the *Sokols*, or great gymnastic demonstrations, were agencies of both physical and cultural development on a nationalistic basis. There grew up a number of trade union, political, and other organizations for adult education. The university of Prague provided lectures for the people "Education became a motive power in Czech life". In 1906 a Cultural Federation for the Education of Adults was created. Its work proved amazingly fruitful, even during the stress of the war years. The establishment, endowment, and State recognition in 1925 of the national Masaryk Institute for Adult Education was a fitting part of a national tribute paid on his seventieth birthday to President Masaryk, who was ever a pioneer of working class education in his own country, it forms a unique national centre for every kind of cultural effort and experiment. The Ministry of Education and the voluntary organizations are enabled by it to join forces. A model centre of Adult Education—the Hus School—had been set up at Prague in 1912, and others are being created by local effort but upon similar lines in different parts of the Republic. The Institute is making studies of the philosophy and method of adult education which will be of great value in determining policy, and will influence very strongly the independent activities of the bodies represented within it. Lectures, libraries, and travelling art exhibitions are promoted and assisted.

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But one of the special features of interest in the work of the Institute is its use of the cinema, which in so many other countries has been allowed to become so completely commercialized. The official record says.

"The Cultural Federation became active in the reform of the cinema as a result the State censorship was reformed and the regulations concerning the exhibition of films were made more stringent. In the Censorship Council are represented the main cultural corporations for adult education, organizations of writers, or friends of art, journalist and humanist associations, etc. Through the influence of the Cultural Association the Provincial Political Associations began to grant cinema-licences to educational and humanist institutions, and not to individuals who became rich on films but had no educational qualifications for their work."

In this the Republic has set an example which might well be followed in many other countries. The crux of the problem lies in the last sentence of our quotation. Yet even when this is so tersely and clearly stated certain points of great importance may be missed. For one thing, the term educational has often been given too narrow a meaning, both by the trade and by those who have carried on a campaign for education by means of the screen. Many of the films designed for specific instruction in natural history, geography, travel, industry and commerce fill a useful place, though it may be noted in passing that inquiries made by American universities, a group presided over by Dr. Kimmins in England, and other bodies, into the educational use of the film seem to show that film-instruction tends to passivity on the part of the student, and that in any case a combination of films and ordinary lantern slides is best for teaching purposes. But "instructional" films can occupy only a few moments in the typical picture-house programme, and managers have supposed that it would be impossible to present a programme composed wholly of educational films without losing their audience. Educational enthusiasts, on the other hand, have sooner or later been forced to realize that the establishment of cinema studios is a more costly enterprise than they are likely to be

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able to carry through. What has not been done is to point out to the trade why certain films, not less popular than others, are satisfactory from the educational point of view, and to challenge those responsible to produce more of them, with such help as might be gained from experts in the various fields of culture involved. Nor has it been made sufficiently plain that the demand for an educative use of the cinema cannot be satisfied by the thrusting of a few "instructional" films into programmes, but only by lifting the whole programme—"thrills," humour, story plays, and all—on to a higher artistic level. The need is twofold—that of producing all films in a manner that will help people to understand and appreciate human life at its best, rather than at its worst, or even at its mediocre levels, and that of giving a wider interpretation to the idea of educational films as well as bringing about necessary co-operation between producers, artists, and scholars.

Incidentally it may be remarked that the British Missionary Societies, co-operating to produce very fine films of life in China, India, and Africa to-day, have illustrated some of the possibilities in conscious and purposeful educational use of the films without dullness or distortion. There is indeed no lack of dramatic and attractive subject-matter for genuinely educational films, especially in the realms of history, literature, and the interpretation of one nation to another by means of pictures. It was suggested, for example, in the course of the controversy over the "King of Kings" picture, that the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* would afford an excellent opportunity for the finest exercise of the picture-producer's art. The theme was actually utilized some years ago, and with success. This is but one instance. And it is perhaps worth while to reiterate our argument that Hollywood neither need be left to itself in dealing with such material, nor should be.

Broadcasting happily presents a great contrast to the cinema in this respect. Experience in Great Britain gives much cause for thankfulness that this agency, perhaps even more potent for good or evil than the cinema, has not been left from the outset in the hands

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of the philistines or the get-rich-quick merchants. With all its defects the wireless programme has carried knowledge, intellectual stimulus, æsthetic enjoyment, and educative recreation to hundreds of thousands of men and women who would never attend a class or a course of lectures. It provides for the isolated student, in some measure, whether the isolation be due to geographical remoteness, to physical disability, or to preference for solitary pursuits. It has great possibilities in cultural interchange between nations also.

Clearly in present circumstances broadcasting cannot supply more than a brief introduction to any subject, though we should be wrong in assuming that this must necessarily be elementary in character. A distinguished scholar in science, music, history, literature or any other subject can in half a dozen short talks present in simple terms the results of recent research, and supplement the work done in a tutorial class or extension course. At the other end of the scale a series of talks may create in listeners a desire for further knowledge which will lead them to join a group under a tutor.

The establishment by the British Broadcasting Corporation of an adult education department is already bearing fruit—the more so because this development has coincided with the provision of alternative programmes between which listeners can choose. The issue of a carefully prepared syllabus of the educational items for each quarter, with hints to students and lists of books, together with attractively printed and illustrated booklets each dealing in greater detail with one of the chief courses, has given greater substance to this part of the Corporation's work. Experiments in group listening-in, when the wireless talk is followed by discussion under a competent leader, have not yet gone far, but have important possibilities, especially in connection with clubs, village institutes, churches, and other centres of community life where it is not always easy to secure a competent lecturer or tutor in the subject which is to be studied. The Central Council on Broadcast Adult Education which the B.B.C. has now set up makes possible close co-operation between the official and voluntary organizations for

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adult education, representatives of cultural interests, and the B.B.C. Through the publication of a weekly journal of adult education, *The Listener*, the B.B.C. is strengthening these links while also giving greater substance and permanence to its own service of adult education.

Obviously listening-in can never take the place of "the real thing." No one suggests that it should. As Mr. J. C. Stobart, head of the B.B.C. Education Department, has said: "Wireless cannot possibly replace the living teacher. Indeed, it only attains to its full effect when it has the co-operation of the teacher on the spot. Efforts are made to make the lessons stimulating, so that the listener may not be a mere passive recipient." The play of mind upon mind, the rapid fusillade of question and answer, the opportunity of dwelling upon a point of special interest or eliciting the contribution which members of the group can make out of their individual knowledge and experience, are intrinsic elements of corporate study. Lazy attention to a loud speaker may be a form of intellectual vice, and even serious effort at comprehension and criticism may end in the "little knowledge that is a dangerous thing," if listeners remain content with what they hear in the talks. But these considerations should not diminish the value of education by wireless in the respects already indicated. Moreover, even the serious student of economics, let us say, or of biology, is the better for what he will gain from talks in his own special subject given by a master, and particularly for the widening of his cultural interests through talks on other subjects, through music, drama, and other parts of the ordinary programme.

Mr. J. Robertson Scott, whose enthusiasm for the development of rural life springs from many years of close association with it in more than one country, has drawn special attention in a *Radio Times* article to the social and cultural effects and potentialities of broadcasting from the village point of view. "Is it likely," he asks, "that the villagers who have heard over their wireless some of the best public speaking, some of the best music, and some of the best preaching, who have listened to competent men and women discussing social

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problems, and sketching in a fascinating way the incidents of our history, have not compared such mental fare with what they have been given at the ordinary type of village public meeting, lecture, and concert, at many a church and chapel, and in some country weekly papers?" He scorns the notion that rural listeners like nothing but the lighter kind of programme, and attributes a change in the prevailing attitude of villagers towards education (especially secondary education) largely to the influence of broadcasting. "What matters," he says, "is that it is a stirring of the mind and a widening of sympathies. The village listener is being gradually taken out of his village, out of his country, out of England, even out of Europe. He is being given a chance of readjusting himself. He is being brought into contact with men, ideas, new attitudes, new aims. In a transition period in an agricultural and social life the farm worker and his master, the farm worker's wife and the farmer's wife find themselves not only looking at new things but looking in a new way at things they have always seen." Similar testimony could be quoted from other lands, in the East as well as in the West, and the special conditions of rural areas only bring out more clearly what is true of broadcasting everywhere.

The vital point here, as in the case of the cin  ma, is not the number of directly educational items that can be included in the programme, but the cultural value of the whole. This becomes all the more true with the removal of unduly narrow restrictions as to the broadcasting of controversial matter. The *Manchester Guardian* comment is sound. "If the true policy of an open forum is adopted the B.B.C. may become one of the greatest educational forces in the country. Education begins when interest is aroused, and the B.B.C. has a unique opportunity of arousing interest and even thought in minds that are closed to other channels. Many sedulously guarded myths may be dispelled by open discussion, and intelligent opinions take the place of hoary superstitions. There is no way of arriving at truth or of cultivating sound judgment except through the clash of opinion, and the

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BBC may play a great part in educating a public amongst whom truth shall be better appreciated and sound judgment be more general than they could be without its aid "

Many problems emerge in connection with the more specifically educational use of wireless, and are receiving careful consideration, but these are fully discussed in *New Ventures in Broadcasting*, the Report (published after this book was completed) of the Inquiry into Educational Broadcasting carried through by the B.B.C. and the British Institute of Adult Education

A glance at the world's radio programmes for a single week will show that Britain is not at all exceptional in the educational use of wireless. In Czechoslovakia the Masaryk Institute arranges radio-lectures each week, co-operating with the Ministry of Health, the Association of Sokols, and other bodies. The Austrian Broadcasting Company works in close association with the Vienna Society for Popular Education. Germany has a highly developed system, by which the *Deutsche Welle*, a programme company in Berlin, has combined with the semi-official Central Institution for Instruction to broadcast courses from the Koenigswusterhausen station. A substantial handbook is issued, outlining the educational policy and giving particulars of the technical and cultural courses provided. An educational newspaper containing the text of selected talks is published. In addition to this special educational provision there are of course the talks and other educational items which appear in the programmes of most German stations. France has its "Sorbonne Radio College," controlled by a Committee of distinguished persons headed by M. Raymond Poincaré, the broadcasts being given from the Eiffel Tower station, but the present position of broadcasting in that country limits the application of the scheme for the time being.

Looking further afield we find that Japan provides foreign language courses in English, French and German, special literary and artistic programmes, and talks on popular science and domestic subjects. Japanese classical literature and the history of foreign music are

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also included Mexico sets aside a special station for general cultural and educational broadcasting. Special courses are given for the benefit of teachers who wish to graduate. The debates of the Legislature are broadcast in full each night from this station.

Among the romances of adult education must surely be reckoned the establishment of wireless stations at Tashkent—and Samarkand! A *World-Radio* article describes how there, on the Roof of the World, night by night these far-away village folk, many of whom cannot read or write, listen eagerly to a cultural programme in which simple courses in history, physics, chemistry, are interspersed with concerts.

The University of Pittsburg has its own wireless studio, from which courses are given by the Professors, through the agency of K D K.A., the well-known transmitting station. One result of the work done by the University in this way is the publication of a considerable number of small volumes containing the substance of the lectures, which listeners who heard these are glad to purchase, so that they may go over the ground again at their leisure.

Education by wireless, however, is becoming part of the method adopted by a considerable number of the universities in the United States for meeting the needs of students who cannot come into residence. Courses of twelve wireless lectures, with the submission of six papers by each student and the passing of an examination at the end of the course, are recognized under the system of "credits" towards a degree. A fee of about £2 is paid for each twelve-lecture course, and it is possible in this way to work out the equivalent of two years of intramural study, or half the amount required of resident students for a full degree. Students say that they prefer this method to that of correspondence tuition. But the great value of wireless lectures in America, as elsewhere, lies in the stimulus and satisfaction they give to multitudes of men and women who, without thought of a degree or of vocational interests, are intent upon using their leisure for cultural purposes.

There is no doubt that, as time goes on, increasing

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use will be made of mechanical devices for the purposes of adult education. In so far as these are capable of conveying in some measure the influence of personality they will add greatly to the resources of the Movement. The International Education Society, of which the Right Hon H A L Fisher is President and a large number of distinguished scholars are strong supporters, claims to be "a serious endeavour to secure mass education by applying, so far as they are found practicable, some of the lessons of mass production." Its first experiments are in the use of the gramophone for recording lectures on a great variety of subjects, and ranging from the elementary type of popular introductory talks to a full course as given in a university

Quite obviously such records can never fully take the place of the living intercourse between teacher and student. But this the promoters fully recognize. The gramophone record, however, shares with wireless the advantage of enabling students to hear the cadence and expression of the tutor's voice, which in many instances is so expressive an instrument of the human spirit, and it has the further value of continuing this possibility for future generations. Then too it is often more convenient for a group to use a gramophone than to install wireless and a loud speaker in the place where the class meets. Clearly for group work the gramophone lecture must be supplemented by a discussion under the guidance of a suitable leader, in the same way as the wireless talk should be. For isolated students the record has great advantages. We have also to consider the important fact that records can be sent to other lands. The experience of the National Adult School Union and of other organizations a few years ago in purchasing sets of Sir Walford Davies' gramophone record course of study on Music, and sending these out to individual Adult Schools for periods sufficiently long to enable the class to take the course, has demonstrated the usefulness of the method.

At present, only single lectures or sets of two are available. The progress of the enterprise will be watched with interest and expectation by those whose

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vision with regard to the possibilities of adult education is not limited by conventional interpretations of the way in which knowledge and culture may be "in widest commonalty spread." Whether the promoters of the scheme will succeed in their more ambitious purposes of recording complete courses of university lectures, and whether students who have reached the stage at which these are appropriate to their needs would be satisfied to listen to a series of records, is perhaps doubtful. For pioneer and propaganda work, however, this method has obvious value, and there are many people who would be all the more ready to read the substantial books written by authorities in history, literature, philosophy, and other subjects, if they had once heard the voice of the writer, while even those who have read the books will often attain to a new sense of sympathy and understanding with the writer when they have listened to a lecture by him.

Turning now to experiments made by more exclusively educational organizations, the experience of the London County Council in its Men's Institutes, to which we have already referred, may have far-reaching results. These Institutes provide for men whose main interest lies in hobbies and handicrafts. With one exception, the Institutes do not offer "general education," and the men who go to them have apparently no particular intention of seeking "self-improvement." Inquiries of typical members about their reasons for joining elicited such replies as, "Helps me to keep my self-respect". "The Gym keeps me fit, so that when a job does come along I can go at it instead of lying down beside it". "It prevents me from going melancholy mad". "I am an old man and have lost my family and friends. I used to be a carpenter, and am happy when I am doing something in your workshops." The most popular items on the programme are physical training and boxing (for the younger men), the cultivation of useful and educational hobbies (carpentry, photography, wireless, poultry-keeping, and so forth), and music (not listening, or "appreciation," but active participation in a choir or a band).

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So fresh and full of promise is this work that H.M. Inspectors have prepared a special report upon it (Board of Education Pamphlet No. 48), and their considered judgment is particularly valuable. "The greatest gain," they say, "generally speaking, is the awakening of wider interests. The recognition that the Institute is a friendly and helpful influence, introducing them to avenues of knowledge and to a better type of social intercourse, is universal. For the first time many of these men realize that education is not a mystery, or the possession of a privileged few, but is to be acquired at the cost of effort and application." The hobby, we are told, "must always be one of the main bases of interest among those who have found in the Men's Institute their educational salvation". It is often the only effective means of approach, the one thing which can at the outset be shared and thus made a starting-point for further education. Few of the men are likely to go on to the more highly organized forms of study in lecture courses and classes. Literature, history, travel, adventure, and other seemingly attractive topics are found to evoke little response from the men who frequent the Institutes, though something has been done to stimulate general reading and guide members in their use of libraries. Abstract knowledge has no charms for men of this type, whose inclination is towards some form of bodily activity.

Social life is a great factor in the success, from all points of view, achieved by the Institutes. Their value, in fact, lies in the combination of the club atmosphere with purposeful activity possessing an educative though primarily recreative quality. "They prevent moral and intellectual wastage," say the Inspectors, "among a class living in some of the least favourable surroundings of urban life, employed for the most part in low-skilled manual, and even casual, work". They attract and hold men untouched by any other kind of educational organization. While in so many respects quite unlike the more academic and formal activities generally indicated by the term adult education they are not less important or fruitful, nor are they less truly a part of

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the adult education movement. "The two types of education are on different planes and neither can take the place of the other." But for that very reason we have the greater cause to welcome this advance in "the discovery of what the average man can make of his leisure in association with his friends and neighbours, with such skilled guidance as can be afforded by a wise and sympathetic teacher" The broadening of our conception of adult education and the widening of the basis upon which State and rate aid may be obtained are irresistible corollaries from the success of this experiment.

A venture of peculiar interest is reported from Germany, where, at Leipzig, groups of young working class students have arranged to live together in ordinary houses, following their usual occupations, doing their own domestic work, and spending all the leisure time they can secure during the ten months of the course in study under the guidance of a past or present university student, who lives with them. One of the special purposes in view is to obviate that divorce between an adult student and his normal life and associations almost inevitable when he gives up his employment and goes away, even for a few months, to take a course at a residential Folk High School or a Workers' College. This again is an idea capable of widespread and fruitful application. Another is the development in Switzerland of "Casosja," a centre where summer schools, and longer residential courses also, are provided for young women, the curriculum being based definitely upon study of housewifery and homecraft, but the treatment of these being such as to afford a genuinely cultural training.

The growth of Educational Settlements or Guild-houses in England has revealed the potentialities of co-operation at a common centre between existing educational groups, and of the development of corporate life among students and tutors. But it has become plain that no stereotyped way of starting is desirable. In some circumstances it is best that a single organization shall initiate the Settlement, the co-operative development coming later. In others it is possible to make a beginning in a more comprehensive fashion. It

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is a question of spirit and principle more than of tidy schemes. However constituted in detail, Educational Settlements have shown that democratic government, and a close relationship with the University on the one hand and the Local Education Authority on the other, make for vigorous life, high standards of work, variety, flexibility and stability. Such a community centre makes experimental and extension work not only possible but inevitable. It stimulates new ideas in method also. The whole aim is to bring together all those in the community who, whether as groups or as individuals, seek in one way or another to attain a finer quality of personal and social life, in its intellectual, æsthetic, religious, political, industrial, and other aspects, nationally and internationally. It is the fuller use of familiar means to this end, and the discovery of fresh and more fruitful ones, that knit the body of students together in a highly diversified unity. Differing in organization and programme as local circumstances and needs require, Educational Settlements are alike in their emphasis upon freedom and fellowship. Mutual responsibility between the members is the foundation stone, and a community-wide comprehensiveness the corner-stone, of their structure.

There is a growing demand for such plots of common ground, where every kind of liberal study and educative activity may be pursued, and where all sorts and conditions of men may interchange knowledge and opinions, experience and ideals. Unless the culture which ought to be characteristic of democracy can make for itself in some such way as this a local habitation and a name it is apt to be narrow, sectional and propagandist. If, as the old tag has it, Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, it is still more true that the struggle for freedom and self-government, for a social and international order which will ensure creative and joyous peace, must be carried to a victorious issue in the minds and spirits of men before it can be happily resolved in their political and industrial organization. More than this, there must be achieved a keenness of insight, a depth of understanding, a richness of sympathy, and a

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steady sense of humour such as only a constructive clash of minds and temperaments in the frankest friendship can give. What has been accomplished thus far by Educational Settlements is but a hint of how people can help each other if they have the courage and the initiative to make an experiment in community education along such lines as seem to them best

The natural sequel to leisure-time education for men and women is, as we have seen, full-time education for at least some among them who have the desire to undertake it. Though an account has already been given of residential colleges for men and women it may be well at this point to add that such colleges are not a half-way house to something else. They have an independent worth. They make possible a real experience of the intellectual and social fellowship which university men and women value above everything else gained by three or four years of residence within the walls of some historic foundation. But they do not present students with standards of living that would be impossible in the conditions to which these students return. They carry further the natural and indigenous culture of the people, and do not impose the more expensive and artificial but not more cultured conventions of a relatively wealthy minority. Nor is the student who can spend only a year, at most, away from his calling hampered by efforts to keep pace with those whose preparation has been academically far more complete than his own, and whose work is governed by the fact that they have three or four years to spend on their chosen course of study.

Yet it would be ridiculous to affirm that no one but an ordinary undergraduate, with secondary or public school behind him, can profit from a course within a university, even though it be a course of less than normal length. The last few years have witnessed the initiation of the first regular and systematic schemes for bringing adult students up to the English universities for periods of study ranging from one year to the three or four required for a degree course. Manchester College, Oxford, which has always emphasized the value of sociological training, led the way by offering lay scholar-

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ships to adult students whose aim is to equip themselves for part or whole-time work in the adult education movement. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have now developed schemes whereby students from tutorial classes, extension courses, Educational Settlements or Residential Colleges for men and women, and similar sources, may come into residence at the University, generally within one of the constituent Colleges. The result has been encouraging from every point of view, and the demand for scholarships far outruns the number available. While naturally it is hoped that such students will desire subsequently in some way or other to render service to adult-education, and to the industrial and social movements to which they belong, no pledges are asked or given. The main purpose is that the student should have a chance of discovering himself more fully than he might otherwise do, understanding more fully the world in which he must play his part, and welding more firmly than before the factors of learning and working which made freedom and responsibility possible.

Much as education has owed to the Churches from the days of Columba and Alcuin until now, it is only within the last two decades that the various households of faith in England have begun to consider seriously the systematic training of their adult members in the knowledge of their faith and its bearing upon life. We have noted the growth of the Catholic Social Guild, with its Study Clubs, and latterly its Workers' Residential College at Oxford. The College has now been recognized by the Board of Education for grant-aid on the same terms as Ruskin and Fircroft. Several of the Study Clubs have undertaken a more exacting course of study than was at first characteristic of them, and, through affiliation with the W.E.A., have qualified as one-year classes from grant-aid from the Board. They deal mainly with social and philosophical studies. The Church Tutorial Classes, of which during the winter 1928-29 there were some 170 (double the number for the previous winter) in the Church of England, doing work on the lines of the usual one-year or tutorial class but not seeking to qualify for grant-aid, deal with topics relating

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to the Bible, the history of the Church, and the ethnic religions. A number of isolated experiments are in progress, among them being the promotion of four one-year classes in the philosophy and psychology of religion by the Eccleston Square Guildhouse, of which Miss Maude Royden is minister. These have been recognized by the Board, through the Educational Settlements Association, acting as Responsible Body for the purposes of the Board's Regulations, as eligible for grant. Another interesting venture is the co-operation of Free Churches at St. Helens, Lancashire, in a week-night "college," where Literature, Psychology and the Bible are studied. Notable progress in the arrangement of University Extension courses in Biblical subjects is being made under the auspices of the Divinity Lectures Committee, an unofficial and inter-denominational organization set up for the purpose. Many Churches of course have the conventional Literary Societies, Bible Classes, Guilds and Men's Meetings, but with little or no consecutiveness of study.

On the other hand the recognized political Parties are extending their educational work, through lectures, study circles, summer schools, and, in the case of the Conservative and Unionist Party, the Philip Stott College, which provides residential courses of a fortnight in duration.

These educational activities promoted by religious and political bodies obviously raise questions, which we discuss elsewhere in this book, as to where education ends and propaganda begins. But in any event there can be no doubt that they do, directly or indirectly, stimulate a considerable amount of fair-minded and disinterested study of both facts and theories. They certainly cannot be omitted from any consideration of the educational forces now at work among men and women, and the experiments thus begun have great potentialities if they are pursued with a reasonable adherence to intellectual integrity and a truly social purpose. Clearly they touch very closely the growth of the people in freedom and responsibility, in what has been called civic-mindedness, and they may do a vast

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amount not only towards the increase of culture, but also towards a perception of that human unity which lies beneath all differences of creed and party.

Foreign travel must be accounted not the least of the cultural influences that are taking a strong hold upon our own generation, albeit with less self-consciousness than when young gentlemen of our great-grandfathers' time were sent off with their tutors on the Grand Tour, by way of completing their education. Mrs. Arnold Glover, whose knowledge of Girls' Clubs is so wide, has said that while most of the girls refuse to attend Evening Institutes in London, many of them seek to further their education by taking their holidays abroad "to see how other people live." Facilities for people of slender means have been greatly multiplied by the ordinary commercial agencies. But organizations like the Workers' Travel Association definitely combine the educational with the recreational purpose, and find that people welcome the opportunity of making their visits to other countries more fruitful in a real understanding of life and thought among other nations. Similar organizations have now been created in several European countries, and the enterprise of America in such matters is proverbial. The W.E.A. has held Summer Schools in Germany, and parties from Educational Settlements have spent their holidays in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy, under the guidance of the Settlement Wardens. Adult School groups have made similar journeys, definite arrangements for sharing the domestic life of friends in these other countries and meeting representative people having been a distinctive feature of the programme. In a similar way, educational parties from other countries have visited Great Britain. Invariably careful preparation is made beforehand, in classes and privately, while studies afterwards are the direct outcome of the travel experience. One result is a more intensive study of languages, so that the classical and contemporary literatures of other nations may be enjoyed, and communication, in both speech and writing, be facilitated. But an even more valuable and invariable outcome is the breaking down of crude national self-sufficiencies and the

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creation of desire for wider knowledge and deeper insight as between peoples

Such experiments as those to which this chapter has referred (and we have been able only to touch in passing a few out of the many now in progress) suggest important conclusions.

We are sometimes inclined to be pessimistic because, though the number of students attending regular classes and lecture courses grows steadily, the total remains comparatively small. Thus the recent Board of Education Report on Pioneer Work estimates that no more than 100,000 people are pursuing systematic courses of study in England and Wales. Professor Laski has estimated that "serious adult-educational effort now touches in a continuous and coherent way a population of some half-million adults." But it is calculated that in Great Britain there are now (including those enfranchised by the Act of 1928) 25,250,000 Parliamentary voters—12,250,000 men and 13,000,000 women—of whom 1,590,000 are under twenty-five years of age, and 1,700,000 over twenty-five and under thirty. Yet, as we consider the variety and extent of the ways in which direct or indirect educative stimulus is being brought to bear upon the people generally, we begin to see that the problem is not merely how to add more members to groups of a specifically educational character. There is much to be attempted in that direction, and, if the desired expansion is to take place, constant experiment in ways of approaching potential students and methods of dealing with them when they have been enlisted is essential. The hidebound is futile. To stereotype adult education is to arrest, if not to kill, it. But the real issue is whether we shall be sufficiently alert to recognize the educational value of the unorthodox, and perhaps unsuspected, means of education to which men and women respond in thousands—books, plays, music, the cinema, wireless, the Press, travel, political and religious activities, and a dozen others. If we recognize their potentialities in self-education by such means, are we going to help them to strive for high standards and encourage them to maintain a level of

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excellence which does not depend upon being academic and conventional?

Only the best will do, in the long run, for any group or any individual in any pursuit. We must set some of our most highly equipped tutors and leaders free (they need no urging) to devote their energies to apparently simple and elementary or recreational and evanescent activities. It is a question of finding out what are people's living interests, and then getting the finest men and women we can secure to take positions of leadership and responsibility in the true development of those interests. Moreover, no aspect of community life and human growth must be overlooked or excluded. Recreational or controversial, connected with livelihood or wedded to leisure, all the forms of community organization must play their part. Clearly, also, if education must correspond with existing interests, create new ones, and harmonize them all, corporate life is an essential factor in the process. Isolated experiments are often unfruitful and sometimes merely wild, though sometimes they are creative. Just as in a laboratory fresh experiments are based upon an existing body of knowledge, and the results achieved must be integrated with those already secured, so in social and intellectual life the most radical of new enterprises are most valuable when they are closely related to established effort in universities, local education areas, and voluntary associations. This may mean that the recognized organizations must take risks. But freedom is worth all the risks likely to be involved, while both responsibility and wisdom mature with exercise.

There is, of course, a general distinction to be made between those forms of adult education, non-vocational though they be, through which men and women seek to overtake the loss resulting from inadequate opportunities of normal education in early life, and those forms through which people who have all along enjoyed the full advantages of education up to the age of eighteen or over carry on their cultural pursuits. The needs of the two types are different, but the impulse which animates them is the same. It is a desire for continuous

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growth in knowledge and wisdom that keeps alive in them the spirit of the student, whether this finds its satisfaction in purely individual ways, or whether it craves association with others in some group, society or institution.

In the end it is a matter of "people all the time," necessary as institutions and organizations are. Only as we are concerned with people more than with organizations and regulations, and are prepared to follow wherever the expression of human vitality leads us, will adult education ever influence any nation deeply and as a whole. Experiments indicate a broadening interpretation of the nature of education, and, though they must be severely tested and only those of proved value retained as permanent parts of the educational organism, they suggest perpetual new worlds to conquer.

CHAPTER VII

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ADULT education as we have pictured it in theory and practice presents a great number of perplexing and at the same time fascinating problems of definition, aim, organization, and method. Upon the most salient of these we must now dwell for a little, not forgetting that in the case of many of them *solvitur ambulando* will prove the wisest way of attacking the difficulty. It is also true that just in so far as the adult education movement is made up of genuine teachers and genuine students will it both encounter and overcome an increasing number of lions in the way.

As we have seen, the more definitely organized and systematic forms of adult education during the nineteenth century did not grow out of any passion among men and women for the acquirement of learning or the increase of culture as such, but developed as part and parcel of their enthusiasm for a cause, industrial or political, social or religious. In our own time the rapid spread of adult educational effort has been, and is, no less intimately associated with the interest of people in some very practical way of making life more congenial, attaining a larger share in the control of (and therefore in the responsibility for) the conditions of human work and leisure, adjusting more fairly the distribution of goods both material and spiritual, finding freedom of expression for all the natural and legitimate instincts and capacities of normal persons, and creating a more desirable social order. Education must be co-extensive with the common life which it is to interpret and inspire. We cannot healthily or honestly rule out of our educational activities the discussion of controversial matters: clash

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of opinion is dangerous or futile only when it does not lead to co-operation in the search for truth of fact and integrity of judgment, whatever differences of interpretation may follow. Indeed, the life of education lies in the process of challenging men to inform themselves more widely and deeply, quickening and disciplining their powers of critical and constructive thought, awakening their sympathetic imagination, and constraining them to judge and choose between the ultimate values by which their lives shall be ordered.

We shall always have to reckon with people who fear that adult education may be "captured" by some section of the community to which they themselves are opposed, as also with those who affirm that this has happened and that the whole business is camouflaged propaganda. There is nothing to choose in this respect between Diehards who declare that adult education is sheer preaching of Socialism and Communists or Marxists who condemn it as bourgeois and enslaving to the common people if it is not definitely organized for the intensification of class consciousness among the proletariat. The two extremes may be left to cancel each other out.

But a quite different situation occurs when admittedly partisan bodies set out to organize adult education for their members, and claim that, though they believe it to be an advantage to their particular cause, it can be and is in itself completely free of propaganda, entirely honest in its consideration of both sides of any subject that may be studied. Churches, political parties, organizations like the League of Nations Union or the United Council for Missionary Education, and many others are now including classes, lectures, plays, films, summer schools and other forms of educational activity in their regular programmes. Are these to be accounted true education, or only the exploitation of educational forms for the purposes of propagandist effort?

It is evident that in so far as propaganda is "the Latin for lies" education can make no terms with it, and is indeed the most appropriate and powerful instrument for its destruction. We are all in danger, however, of self-deception if we fail to realize that education from

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first to last is propaganda in the nobler sense; that we are all missionaries of our own cultural enthusiasms, however much we are also eagerly responsive to those of other people. It is sheer nonsense, if not worse, to talk about purging adult education of propaganda unless by propaganda we mean the refusal (deliberate or unconscious) to exercise or tolerate full freedom and responsibility in the quest for truth at all costs, or, on the other hand, the acceptance for ourselves and the attempt to impose upon other people a part instead of the whole, a complete and final system instead of one which is alive, —changing, growing, and developing with the acquirement of fresh knowledge and wider experience from whatever source

It is as blind and reprehensible to restrict freedom for fear of subversion as to deny it for the sake of dictatorship. We ought by now to have passed the stage at which we cannot distinguish between a partial or inadequate motive for an education which will itself correct and fill out its driving purpose, and a wrong motive which not only misuses education as a mere tool but also deliberately exploits whatever good results may accrue, in its endeavour to establish the dominance of a part over the whole. An illustration of the latter would seem to be the otherwise praiseworthy attack made by the Bolshevik Government in Russia upon illiteracy and intellectual apathy. For even the glowing accounts given us, for example, by Dr. Scott Nearing in *Education in Soviet Russia* include the admission that the whole scheme is designed to secure universal subservience to the doctrines and dictates of one political group. But this does not justify us in banning every venture in adult education that we do not regard as "safe."

"Men should be asked," says the Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard, speaking of Christianity, "first to attempt an adventure rather than to accept an orthodoxy." This is abundantly true in the sphere of adult education. Plato and Abelard, Galileo, Darwin and Ruskin were all propagandists, as now, for example, are Einstein and Whitehead. Conviction of truth impels men to preach the truth as they see it. Thus alone has all advance

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come to mankind. It is so because the intellectual and spiritual pioneer has seen Reality. He has come nearer to the Whole.

The question is, what motive determines the propaganda, what aim and what method does the propagandist pursue? Is his purpose to verify his experience by comparison with the experience of others? Is his effort dominated by a desire to serve, or by a love of power? The check upon propaganda is the scientific spirit—openness to new facts and wider hypotheses, insistence upon testing conclusions and readiness to modify them. If in the cause of education propaganda has affinities with religion and the missionary spirit, it is also allied to science and the spirit of objective analysis. The two are inseparable and are held together by the philosophic and humanist temper. Whatever a man's opinions or enthusiasms, he has every right to give them expression. It is only when he offers as education that selection from the facts which chances to be congenial to him, and demands the acceptance, on authority, of pre-determined conclusions, that he plays false both to his students and to Reality. Likewise those groups alone of students who will listen only to teaching that takes account of nothing but the little world with which they happen to be in close contact are to be withstood as exalting propaganda above education.

Having said this, however, we must needs recognize that men and women read books, listen to lectures, become animated in discussion at lectures, because all the time they are growing more keenly and variously interested and involved in the whole complex of human life, primarily from the practical standpoint of their personal ambitions or necessities, or those of the group to which they belong. Education for its own sake, as we have already remarked, is a pure abstraction. Truth, beauty, and goodness are values which education helps us to discern and to love for their intrinsic worth, but for us they always incarnate. We see them in persons and situations, not as "bloodless categories." Education should be the process by which men become more clear-sighted, imaginative, aware of their resources, dis-

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ciplined and purposeful in the use of them—not only vividly interested in life or wisely critical of it, but veritably alive, in the harmonious exercise of all their capacities, and in the conscious freedom to grow and work as the divine element in human life impels.

It is when we drop metaphor and generalization that the trouble begins. Ideals are all very well. Principles may be unquestionable. But do A, B, and C want education to make Socialists or to produce Anglo-Catholics, to spread Communism or to make a case for Foreign Missions? Do they really care for anything but the immediate success of their cause? Is the Philip Stott College safe for the working man or a Labour College for a loyal citizen? Above all, should support from rates and taxes be given to any group of people who cannot lay their hands upon their hearts and declare that they are guiltless of any interest in their work beyond that of acquiring fresh knowledge?

The real cause of our mutual suspicions is our prejudice against each other's theology and politics. Thorough analysis will reveal that little, if anything, else is in our minds when we decry propaganda in education. We submit ourselves without question to the authority of our favourite newspapers, or to that of the Church or Party to which we belong. It does not worry us that other people should do the same, even though the authority in their case is antagonistic to that which we accept. But the avowal that a group of people are moved by a living interest in politics or religion to a *study* of the subject at once calls forth our strenuous and even embittered opposition. Thus it has always been since adult education began in this country, as the story of the Mechanics' Institutes and the People's Colleges of last century proves. To-day we have at last arrived at the stage of allowing these more vital topics a place in officially approved and supported classes. Yet we are terribly insistent upon "impartiality" and desperately afraid of "bias."

For our guidance in the matter we need deeper psychological investigation of motive on the one hand and interest on the other, together with a greater faith

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in the prevailing power of truth and—a more generous sense of humour.

The relationship between vocational and non-vocational education for adults affords another battle-ground for theorists. In America, University Extension Departments, Y.M.C.A.'s, Settlements and other bodies sometimes claim to be doing great things in adult education when upon analysis, in many cases, most of their students prove to be occupied with bread and butter studies. We find the same confusion arising in England and Scotland, chiefly in connection with the activities of Local Education Authorities in their ordinary Evening and Technical Institutes. The practical effect is that of misunderstanding and antagonism between the protagonists of the two types of education, and a rivalry of claims upon the energies and financial resources of the community, which are obviously limited. Each group tends to accuse the other of neglecting the more important functions of education and to exalt its own superior common-sense or idealism, as the case may be.

Clearly it is not a matter of superiority or inferiority, greater or less necessity. The two are simply different—but also complementary. The use of the word "vocational" is generally question-begging. "Liberal" and "technical" are terms which on the whole enable us to distinguish more accurately between studies. The consideration of motive and aim is relevant and helpful only when we agree that in both fields the governing impulse may and should be a worthy one, and that in the complete personality, fulfilling a proper function in society, the two will blend harmoniously.

Admittedly, liberal studies which leave a man with his head in the clouds are as untrue to type as technical studies which turn him into John Bunyan's man with a muck-rake. Also it will probably be agreed that there is at present more danger of one-sidedness in technical than there is in liberal education. The remedy is not in adding literature or history to a course intended to prepare a man for the work of an electrical engineer or a works chemist, a salesman or a cabinet-maker. Efforts in that direction have been made, and with some success.

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They are of special importance because, as we have already observed, young adults who have spent night after night at classes or over technical books for three or four years after leaving school, and at the cost of leisure and recreation have at last qualified for a technical diploma, but meantime have been almost entirely divorced from humane studies or other cultural influences, are apt to react sharply, say that they have done with education, and lose their appetite for liberal studies altogether. The vital thing is that the spirit of vocation and the significance of the sciences which they are learning to apply in their trades and professions should be made to live for them in and through the whole of their vocational training. Professor Desch, in an address to the British Institute of Adult Education, has sketched in a brilliant fashion the way in which history, biography, the social sciences and other elements of liberal culture may quite naturally be made part of vocational courses, and has argued that sociology, broadly interpreted, is the proper bridge between technical and liberal education. But however it is accomplished the two must be held together in the minds of both students and tutors—by the aid of physical contiguity (the organizations for the two types of education using the same or adjacent buildings), as well as by more fundamental connections.

In the end, however, both problems—that of propaganda in adult education and that of the relationship between liberal and technical studies—come back to questions of technique and leadership in the first place, and ultimately to our conception of the nature and purpose of education as a whole. To the last-named point we shall return. Here we take up the two others.

It has been among the ridiculous anomalies of education in England that the more learned a teacher is required by the conditions of his work to be, the less has been the importance attached to his ability, natural or technical, to impart his knowledge to his pupils. Elementary teachers of all but the "supplementary" grade have had to pass through some professional training, even though they may have been given the slenderest opportunities of general education. Secondary teachers

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and masters in public schools were expected to possess the competence in their subjects represented, as a rule, by a good degree, but not, until the last few years, to need any course of professional training at all. As to university professors, they would still consider a little odd any colleague who read for a teacher's diploma. In adult education there are traditions and conventions about the best way of teaching adults, but no body of principles has been evolved because no serious study has been given to the matter. In England, Germany, and America a few tentative efforts have been made to provide training-courses (usually of short duration) for tutors. But nobody concerned with these would claim that they are adequate, even as experiments. Yet, though so little has thus far been done about it, the choice and equipment of tutors is recognized by all far-seeing workers in the movement as perhaps the cardinal problem of adult education at this or at any time.

The British Institute of Adult Education and the Tutors' Association recently carried through a joint inquiry into the Supply and Training of Tutors, and a valuable Report, published after this book was completed, is now available. All that is possible here is to touch upon a few outstanding considerations which had previously occurred to the author.

Technique must always be secondary to personality, and largely the outcome of personality interacting with circumstances. But adult education is not superior to all considerations of manner and method. The central principles of teaching and (of still greater moment) the psychology of learning may be the same for all stages and types of education. The Principal of a Residential College for Adults who has been an elementary teacher, a lecturer at a training college for teachers, and a member of the teaching staff at a university college for women, is wont to say that her training as an elementary teacher contained, in germ at any rate, everything she has found most useful in her subsequent work. Nevertheless a group of adult students differs widely from a school class or a crowd of undergraduates. Mature in many respects, they are woefully handicapped in others.

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Needing intellectual discipline, they are resentful at the thought of being in any sense subject to authority. Repelled by lengthy lectures, they often cannot express themselves freely and accurately in discussion or on paper. Desiring to range widely over their subject, they have as a rule scant leisure for systematic reading. Tending to overrate the extent and significance of their own practical experience, they are apt to undervalue academic attainments and the real knowledge which these should indicate. Responding generously to the devotion of the tutor, they may unconsciously rely too much upon his statements despite his most strenuous efforts to make them independent. A tutor recently lamented the extreme difficulty of getting students to ask themselves questions. Almost certainly they will have little if any time to spend on subjects even closely allied to the one in which they are specializing. Then, too, they come for only an hour or two a week into the atmosphere of the class-room, and have not, like schoolboys or undergraduates, the unity of reference which life at school or at a university affords. The natural current of their thought is from study to the world of practical affairs, and all too often they are tired men and women when they are at last free to start upon an evening of study.

All this should influence the technique of adult education—and, if the movement is to be more than the cult of a comparative few, we must add the difficult questions connected with “informal” methods for less advanced or less systematic adult students, methods specially adapted to the young adult who is not yet ready to do serious educational work of any kind, and so forth. It becomes obvious that genius is not enough: the teacher must also be scientifically and psychologically a master of his job. The layman may make a better teacher of adults than the professional whose experience and special aptitude has rendered him so eminently successful in school or university. But whether lay or professional, the teacher of adults will not accomplish all he might so long as he works by mere rule of thumb. He must in some sort serve an apprenticeship in this special department and, while working out a technique for him-

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self, should have all the possibilities in view, and be able at least to avoid the pitfalls that others before him have discovered by dropping into them. And he should know what he is trying to do.

Where are we to look for our leaders and teachers? The only possible answer is—everywhere. There will undoubtedly continue to be a mingling of voluntary, part-time and whole-time tutors. As now, among part-time tutors, we shall have school and university teachers, professional and business men and women, and perhaps an increasing number of those who, without earlier educational advantages, have gained inspiration and a part at least of their equipment as members of university tutorial classes. During the last twenty years it has become slowly more possible to make full-time appointments, and this, while a source of strength in many ways, brings with it also certain dangers. Again the subject is too wide for exploration here, but two or three reflections spring from such experience as we have had.

One of these is that the more tutors, wardens of Educational Settlements and heads of University Extramural Departments there are who by birth and occupation have first-hand experience of working class life, the better. But they must be given as long a period at the university and as full an opportunity of becoming Honours graduates as those tutors have enjoyed who have come from other circumstances and gone up to a university in the ordinary course of events. Otherwise they will be severely handicapped when faced by the intellectual demands which any ordinary class will certainly make upon them. Apart altogether from thorough knowledge of the particular subject he teaches, a tutor must have the power of relating that subject to the great body of human experience and thought which has grown with the progress of civilization. As he has pursued his own line of scholarship he must have rubbed shoulders day by day with men specializing in other directions, yet all knit together by the common quest of wisdom to understand and power to serve humankind.

Another is that while a great deal of pioneer and elementary work must be done, and may be done

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perfectly, by people whose technical equipment is comparatively small, it will generally be found that as great a capacity and as wide an experience are required in the tutor of an elementary or informal group of adult students as in the tutor of an advanced tutorial class. It has frequently been observed that a tutor may find it extremely advantageous if he can spend part of his time on the intra-mural work of a university and part on the extra-mural. There is quite as much ground for urging that tutors should in most cases divide their time between elementary and advanced classes, for their own sakes and for those of their students. Lest the suggestion appear arbitrary and extravagant it may be pointed out that introductory work among adult students is peculiarly difficult because, if their interest is to be retained, they must be enabled to see the field of study as a whole, and if they are to be led into fuller exploration of its various parts someone who knows it through and through must be ready to seize upon every indication of special aptitude or inclination in a student and follow this up. Moreover, in a class at the primary stage grading is impossible: the students have not been tested, and may reveal startling differences in previous preparation as well as in capacity. The tutor must be equipped to deal with them all and to fuse them into a real unity. It is in these preliminary stages that students are made or marred. Consequently the best leadership is needed, and the ablest tutor ought to be paid a salary towards which substantial State and Rate is given on proper conditions. He should not be paid on a class fee basis, which makes it essential that a tutor shall be given as many advanced classes as possible so that a sufficient sum for full maintenance shall result.

The introduction of young graduates to highly responsible full-time work should, except in very special cases, be avoided. A time of testing and an opportunity for maturing experience as well as watching older hands at work is essential. If adult education becomes a new kind of career for bright young people just going down from college, or an interesting and useful occupation to be followed for four or five years on the way to some-

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thing more distinguished and lucrative, it will lose its vitality, and, at any rate temporarily, its appeal to possible students

To describe the ideal tutor is not easy, and any sketch, even from the life, might be misleading. For he or she is heaven-sent—and unconscious of the fact. They must be prophets prepared to work at their job, interpreters, at once of the truth and of the men whom they are to inspire with love of it; pioneers, ever exploring the uncharted seas of knowledge and thought for themselves, and seeking to understand the men and women whom they lead in that tremendous adventure, unsentimental lovers of their kind, people with a passion the more powerful because it is restrained. In them the power of response to individual people must ever be uppermost, and yet they must not lose their hold on ordered knowledge and dispassionate judgment. They must be able to arrest, inspire and lead others by reason of their own mental and spiritual quality, and yet remain humble, simple, direct and practical, with the courage and patience to wait while their students take months to find out for themselves what they could be told in five minutes, and learn slowly to think for themselves—perchance on levels far lower than that to which they would willingly be lifted by their teacher's thought. And, lest too intense a type be suggested by these words, let us add that without the salt of humour no tutor will make much of his vocation.

Inasmuch as full-time courses for adult students, whether at residential colleges not incorporated in universities (though related to them) or in the universities themselves, are among the more recent developments of adult education, we cannot pass unnoticed certain problems which they are already presenting. For more detailed and technical discussion the readers will naturally turn to the Adult Education Committee's Report on *Full Time Studies*, recently presented to the Board of Education.

We have already observed that non-university colleges must never be regarded as mere preparatory schools for university courses. Inevitably a certain number of

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students will go on to universities and other places of higher education, and will generally be found to be more able to take full advantage of their time at a university than most adult students who go there straight from part-time courses, since they will have learned more fully both how to go about their work and also the mental as well as the physical importance of play. For most adult students, however, the non-university college, with its simplicity of life, its chances of getting more constant and close tutorial assistance, its freedom from examinations, and its emphasis upon purely non-vocational study, is most appropriate and valuable.

But though non-university, the college does and must maintain university standards. This emphatically does not mean a curriculum which would enable a student to pass examinations for a university diploma if another year at the college were allowed him. It means that the tutors are people who know by training and experience the quality and aims of university teaching, and preserve these in all their work. It implies both breadth and depth in the work done by the students, candour, thoroughness, and catholicity in their approach to every subject they take up. Any other interpretation of the phrase is on the face of it preposterous. It is not possible to attain in one, or even in two, years the actual level of effort contemplated as normal in an institution where the minimum period of residence is three years and many students spend four. But it is possible to partake of the same spirit and work on the same principles.

Full-time courses within a university are necessarily of two types. The first aims simply at giving the adult student an opportunity of more intensive and leisured study in an atmosphere of rich and liberal comradeship with people of widely differing circumstances, interests and outlook, but does not contemplate preparation for any diploma or degree. The second puts the adult student on all fours with the ordinary undergraduate, and enables him to take his degree in due time.

Experience has already shown how necessary it is to make a clear distinction between the two possibilities and to avoid confusion of their respective values. The

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majority of adult students neither desire nor are capable of more than the first, but to spend one, or in a few cases two, years at a university on these terms is a priceless boon to them, and develops both personality and power of service as no other form of adult education possibly could. It does not equip them to be teachers of more than elementary adult classes, but it sends them back into the adult education movement with ideals, standards, and purposes that are likely to have a profound influence. They return to their callings with fresh insight and power of judgment, and the quality of their leadership is enriched and strengthened.

On the other hand there are men and women capable of profiting by a full degree course, and of using what they thus gain either as tutors of adult classes or in the service of the community at large. A few will discover unsuspected capacities and go on to callings which would not have been open to them without university training. In any case adult students of this calibre should be given full opportunity of going as far as they can in university studies, and should be encouraged from the outset to hope for a full course, always provided that each year's work is satisfactory as it is complete.

More attention needs to be given to the preparation of students for full-time courses of all kinds. Undoubtedly this can be secured by membership of classes of the university extra-mural type, especially if these are held in an Institute or Educational Settlement where contact with members of other groups will prevent a student from thinking that his special subject—economics, history, science or whatever it may be—is the only one of real importance and can be studied in isolation. Comparatively thorough knowledge of one or two subjects, with a fairly wide range of interests, is as much as it is reasonable to expect of students who have only their leisure time for study. This should not be rigidly interpreted as a demand for tutorial class experience, however. Many capable students for one reason or another have had no real chance of joining a tutorial class, and there are equivalent means of mental discipline which will do quite as much for the man or woman who is in earnest.

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The student who hopes to take a degree course within a university, and must therefore take a "mature matriculation" examination or its equivalent (which all universities should establish), should be awarded his bursary far enough ahead to enable him to get this preliminary qualification out of the way before he goes up. He can be helped at Institutes, Settlements, Local Colleges, and in other ways, and his path at the university should be clear from the outset (Whether the new experiment in Germany, by which adult students will be enabled by attendance at evening classes over a period of years to pass the entrance examination to universities just as if they came straight from secondary schools, will turn out a success remains to be proved. But the idea is at least interesting.)

The effect of college and university courses on adult students naturally varies with individuals. Roughly about fifty per cent. of the students in non-university colleges go back to their original callings. A few go on to university or professional courses. A number go back to more responsible posts in their previous form of employment. Twenty or thirty per cent seek new occupations, partly because higher education has made them dissatisfied with the conditions and prospects in their old jobs, but more because latent capacities and ambitions have been stirred, and they both feel that they can, and actually are able to, make a finer contribution to the common weal in some other kind of work.

It is on the last group that critics fasten, whether middle class people who say that good workmen are spoiled by higher education, and turned into dissatisfied agitators or opportunists, or extreme proletarians who accuse such students of playing false to their class. And of course there may be found here and there a man or woman who is indisputably a worse member of society at the end of a year or two of college life than at the beginning. That, however, is merely to say that every tree produces a few rotten apples. On the whole the adult student proves the value of this higher education by what he makes of life subsequently. We ought to welcome instances in which college or university gives

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real freedom to a man or woman to develop, and to assume larger responsibilities in life. As an official of the Board of Education remarked during a discussion of this subject, the object of getting an adult student to the university is to enable him to find himself and make the most of his chance: if therefore he decides that he wishes to prepare for some calling that was not in view at all when he was awarded a bursary he should not be hindered, but helped: no pledges as to what he will do at the end of his course should be exacted at the beginning: the "thruster" ought to be detected and turned back at the wicket gate.

One special problem remains to be mentioned in connection with the general development of adult education—that of the correlation of effort. Voluntary organizations multiply, and all are begotten of some hitherto unrecognized need or possibility. Universities are extending their extra-mural work—though here it may be remarked with all possible emphasis that an immense amount of reconstruction is required in most universities. Oxford and Cambridge, Bristol and Nottingham University College have set a splendid example, but most of the British universities lag woefully behind. They do something in tutorial class and extension work, and their extension secretaries and secretaries of joint tutorial class committees are eminently devoted to the task. but they spend next to nothing on extra-mural work, they have no full-time officers (in most cases) to lead and direct it, and they have no effective departmental organization for studying the needs of the population by which they are surrounded and working out schemes of co-operation with voluntary organizations and statutory bodies: it is a reproach to them that they are not taking seriously their duty as the cultural centres of great industrial areas, or envisaging their responsibilities and opportunities among the citizens of the communities to which they owe their existence and support, whatever they may be doing for the young people and in research. Local Education Authorities are in certain instances doing splendid work in adult education, but in many

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cases they are failing lamentably to live up to their responsibilities under the Education Act.

Some co-ordination and co-operation is needed in order to utilize the active forces fully and to bring the somnolent and hostile ones into participation. Forms of organization will vary. In the West Riding of Yorkshire the County Education Authority has taken the lead, in North Staffordshire the W.E.A., in Hertfordshire an Educational Settlement, in Oxfordshire and Berkshire the Y.M.C.A., in Nottinghamshire and the two adjacent counties the University College. But everywhere all three of the main agencies should be working together, voluntary organizations getting the students together and developing their corporate life, universities maintaining a supply of tutors and keeping standards high, Local Education Authorities providing financial and other assistance, but neither of them bound hand and foot by prescription of function. The whole community must act together if this work is to be done extensively and done well.

No doubt in other countries a similar problem presents itself. The only solution is not the unquestioned supremacy of one partner, but the eager and understanding co-operation of all.

More clearly than anything else, perhaps, we are perceiving the necessary interdependence of all forms and stages of education. Metaphors like the ladder or the highway have had their use. The first perhaps suggested too much the distinction of inferior and superior between classes of society, and the educating of people "out of their class" into a position of personal advantage. The second has a more natural, comprehensive, universal significance. But we should be thinking of the educational system of a community as an organism, all the parts of which are interdependent. Proper distinction of and provision for nursery schools, primary and secondary education, technical, university and adult education, is more than a matter of neat and efficient organization. It means that each stage is a true preparation for the next, without which it cannot find fulfilment, and which conversely cannot have its full

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effect unless the preceding stages have been given their proper place in a truly evolutionary process. We shall not find the majority of men and women desiring to cultivate their education throughout life if that education, ceasing when they left school at the age of fourteen, was broken off just at the point when it was becoming most interesting to them as children. An adequate secondary education at least is the only sure foundation for the building of adult education—secondary education including of course various types of school such as the Hadow Report on the Education of Adolescents suggests. Even then, in the writer's judgment, compulsory day-continuation schools are highly desirable for those adolescents who do not go on to college, so that the first few years of their working life may not be too sharp a contrast with school life, but may witness the knitting together of a lifelong process of "learning and working" as Maurice put it. And contrariwise, till adults seek a continuing education for themselves they will not insist on and pay for a sound education for their children they will not understand what education means, or be able to co-operate with the school in giving it, though they have a unique contribution to make in home life, church life, social life and industrial or business life. Not till universities are properly related to adult education as well as to schools will they fulfil their true function as well-springs of both knowledge and wisdom for all life, treasure-stores of the accumulated learning of all ages, and power-houses of adventurous exploration in the uncharted territories of the mind and spirit. If education is to bring men not only freedom and responsibility but also the unifying of thought and experience, the agencies of education must somehow attain this unity of spirit and purpose amidst differentiation of functions.

CHAPTER VIII

WISDOM AND UNDERSTANDING

A BILL of fare at the door of a restaurant may attract as customers those among passers-by who stop to look at it. But very few stop, either as they pass or as they enter. Most of those who go in have made up their minds beforehand what kind of meal they want and know they will find it in that particular place, but many choose it less on account of the food than because the surroundings are gay or artistic, or because it is frequented by folk of their own type, or because they are sure of meeting certain friends there. Not otherwise is it when educational institutions display at their gates great posters bearing long lists of subjects in which classes are held, or issue attractive syllabuses giving details of the programme for the session. If a purely vocational purpose dominates the prospective student the method will serve. His choice of subjects, and probably the lines on which he must pursue those he chooses, are very largely determined for him. But it is not so with the typical adult student. Intrinsic interest is the only ground of appeal to him. Almost invariably it is found that, while a few people here and there come because they happen to have been wanting the opportunity of studying some specific subject which appears in the list, you must as a general rule first catch your student, and then decide on your subject and frame your syllabus—in close consultation with your class.

Hillcroft College takes pride in the fact that its curriculum has practically been made by its students. As each year's students go down from the College they are asked what changes they would make in the range of choice presented to new students, if they had their time over again, and their views are taken into serious account by the College Authorities. In course of develop-

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ment a certain measure of stability has been reached. though individual students make widely different selections, the average of demands does not vary greatly, and there is little change required from year to year. Similarly it has always been the principle of the W.E.A. that the students shall say what they wish to study and shall have some voice in the appointment of the tutor. The Board of Education recognizes this as an important characteristic of work among adults, and fully agrees that when the subject has been settled upon and the tutor found the syllabus shall be worked out between tutor and class. It is interesting to trace, in the records of the Tutorial Class Movement, how the range of subjects chosen has widened from a natural preoccupation with the social sciences in the early days to the inclusion of science, philosophy, history, literature and the arts, economics and the allied studies now being selected by rather fewer than fifty per cent of the classes.

A certain guile—or perhaps we should say a measure of guidance—must sometimes be exercised by the tutor. An example is afforded by the case of a Church Tutorial Class which insisted that it must study the New Testament, whereas the private view of the tutor was that only by dealing first with the Old could the students make a proper approach to the New. The class decided, in consultation with the tutor, on "The Sermon on the Mount" as the subject for its winter's work, but when the writer visited the class he found it happily absorbed in Isaiah as part of the "introductory considerations."

All this may appear very reasonable from one point of view, but, asks the straiter sect of the educationists, what becomes of balanced development, grouping of subjects, logical sequence of studies? Is not true education concerned as much with what people *ought* to know as with what they *wish* to know? Surely students, adults though they be, should not be allowed to fall victims to their own prejudices, whims, or passing moods.

A criticism of adult education sometimes advanced, in all cordiality of desire that the finest possibilities of the movement may be attained, is that the whole business is intellectually too loose, too little co-ordinated, too apt

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to omit great tracts of knowledge and concentrate upon a few popular studies. We are urged to produce a kind of model curriculum, an outline of the comprehensive and well-articulated culture at which every adult student should aim. There may well be some things which circumstances make impossible—the advanced study of physics, for example, if one has not had a sound training in mathematics, or of modern Italian literature if one is unacquainted with the language. But, these apart, let us at least not tolerate a haphazard, one-sided, or deliberately narrowed education.

Now certain deficiencies in the general trend of adult education may at once be quite frankly admitted. Science and religion have both been very much neglected in recent times, though, as we have seen, interest in these was a potent force in creating the adult education movement at the beginning of last century. Philosophy plays too small a part—despite the fact that one of the master purposes among adult students is to discover more of the meaning of experience. The love of common things, in nature and in domestic life, is only now being recognized as an avenue to a genuine culture. We forget, again, how frequently adult students need to be taught those arts of accuracy and grace in writing and speaking, and of concentration and discrimination in reading, which they have forgotten in the crowded years since they left school, but without which they can make little progress in the use of books and cannot express themselves adequately in discussion or on paper. When Mr. Fisher appointed the Adult Education Committee in 1921 the terms of reference he gave it included inquiry into the range of subjects prevailing in adult education and the desirability of extending that range, while in his inaugural address he laid special emphasis upon the point. Among other results was the presentation by the Committee of stimulating and illuminating reports on the place of music, drama and science respectively in adult education. A great deal can be done by bringing to students' notice the fact that they have overlooked the interest and value of certain studies. More still can be accomplished by introducing tutors who are not only

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masters of their subjects but also possessors of personal qualities which will attract students to them, and through them to what they are eager to share with others in the way of knowledge and insight

The supreme mistake, however, is to consider subjects rather than people. Any subject is in itself an abstraction, a particular phase of thought or experience isolated for special purposes from the rest. Mr. Lindeman's distinction between the "subject approach" and the "situation approach" is a sound one. He would have us take the student where he is, in a particular and mental state, with an environment, again both physical and mental, that demands understanding and response, and begin with life as he is experiencing it. Often enough students point the way if only tutors and organizers perceived it quickly enough. A newly elected town councillor comes wanting to study the science of politics or methods of government because of the special interest dominant in his life at the moment, and his wish to discharge his responsibilities intelligently. A group of young mothers ask for a course in psychology because they are anxious to handle their children in the best possible way. But on the other hand a servantmaid asks whether she can learn the piano, or a handful of Welsh miners take up Greek, precisely because they desire to bring some compensating interest into a life that is not satisfying them. In either case there is an impulse towards self-fulfilment. The interest springs out of the situation. As Mr. G. E. Wilkinson writes, out of a wide experience as a Tutor in English Literature, when one has read *Macbeth*, or *Moby Dick* or *News from Nowhere*, and gathered to the full the harvest of beauty and truth that these yield as works of imagination and creative suggestion, one is left unsatisfied. The first two leave us with a sense that we must know more about the working of the mind, the third makes us ask what remedies are possible to-day for the social maladjustments which Morris felt so keenly. The study of literature thus leads to a study of psychology and economics. "You will become increasingly aware of this important truth—a study of literature cannot make a complete man. It can

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extend his sympathies, widen his knowledge of men and affairs, lead to a desire for beautiful things and a nobler life, but it cannot give the detailed knowledge that should accompany these discoveries " Moreover one interest awakens another A man cannot go far in economics before he is confronted by problems that are essentially psychological; psychology raises biological considerations, and biology leaves him asking questions about the constitution of matter, answers to which from the physicist will plunge him into profound philosophical questions He cannot hope to become a scholar in all these realms, but at least he will learn that in no one of them alone can the complete and final answer to any really radical question be found. He will discover, too, that within every " simple " and " practical " problem lies another which will take him down to the roots of being, and out into the great spaces of the universe as well as the wide fellowships of human society The more thorough he is in his pursuit of a special study, the more numerous will he find its ramifications into others. He will be compelled to reflect upon both the nature and the connections of things. To his increase of exact and ordered knowledge will be added a mellowing wisdom and a deepening understanding.

To ask whether a man should be a student for the sake of the knowledge he acquires or for the sake of the qualities he develops in the course of particular studies is to raise a false dilemma. Each has its own importance but neither is separable from the other.

One of the strange and perturbing characteristics of our modern life is that we are ready to take so much for granted. As a distinguished scientist has recently observed, we use almost at every moment of the day some marvellous application of scientific discovery to human needs, convenience or pleasure. Telephone and telegraph, aeroplane and wireless are obvious instances. But the same thing is true, less dramatically but often still more vitally and marvellously, of food, dress, medical and surgical treatment and so forth. Yet few of us ever find wonder or curiosity stirring within us. We follow the weather forecast, or put fertilizing agents

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into our flower-beds and vegetable gardens, without stopping to ask about the physics or chemistry involved. Yet surely it is due to our intelligence that we should be reasonably well-informed about such things. But that is not the main reason for increasing our scientific knowledge. Nor is the satisfaction of our curiosity about bird or animal or plant life, or of our interest in fossils, a sufficient motive in itself for taking up the study of biology or geology. Such primary motives must exist. Another and greater outcome of our scientific pursuits, however, should be an appreciation of scientific method and the growth among us of the scientific spirit.

This means that our first endeavour will be to arrive at the facts—at all the relevant facts, neither ignoring some through laziness nor suppressing others in the interest of a preconceived theory, but facing the whole situation as it actually is. If from the ascertained facts we proceed to draw inferences and construct a hypothesis we shall not be content until we have tested our hypothesis, as far as possible, by experiment, and perhaps we shall be constrained by the result of the experiment (compared with the facts, hypotheses and experiments of other people) to modify our theory, or even reject it and start all over again. And when we have attained some verified conclusion which appears unassailably sound and stable we shall never suppose that it can be final, but shall begin looking for further facts, some of which may emerge only as a result of the discoveries and deductions we have already made, or of the application of these in action, and thus shall find ourselves going through the whole process once more, with a new goal ahead of us. Moreover we shall not be the victims of our own specialization but shall want to relate our chemistry to another man's physics, the two to someone else's biology, the resultant of these to yet another student's anthropology or psychology, and so on until we possess not only exact and ordered knowledge but also perspective and a synoptic view of things. The researches of contemporary scientists, too, are taking them into the realms of philosophy and metaphysics. Seeking to understand the nature of things seen and handled, quantities and

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qualities which can be weighed and measured, they are brought inevitably to a consideration of the nature of ultimate reality, and of the principle that unifies the whole of experience

If this spirit of adventure and of discipline became more widespread in society can we doubt the immense difference it would make in politics, in religion, in social affairs? At once more critical and more tolerant, our corporate life would become more imaginative and creative, because more scientific in its quality.

Take again the uses of history. Professor George Trevelyan, in his inaugural lecture at Oxford, urges that the value of historical studies no more lies primarily in the moral or political inferences which may, with such immense influence for good or ill, be based upon them than the methods of the student are to be determined by some private or propagandist interest. "Whereas the discoveries of physical scientists," he says, "have importance as a means towards material ends—military, medical, industrial and agricultural—on the other hand, historical studies have scarcely any value except in so far as they educate the mind, stimulate thought, or intensify intellectual emotion. But history can make people wiser, and it can give them intellectual pleasure of a very high order indeed." It is his view, and in this he is undoubtedly one with the greatest historians of every age and country, that "the value of history to the solution of present-day problems is indirect, and lies in the training of the student's mind by the dispassionate study of some closed episode in human affairs."

This is not to espouse the now discredited doctrine of "formal training"—the belief that subjects which have no direct interest or value in themselves can and should be used to evoke or develop in the student capacities and qualities which he can then utilize in the ordinary occasions of life, or in some sphere of thought and action totally different from that in which he has been "trained." We have ample illustration of the fact that the theologian, however great a scholar in his own field of knowledge and however clear and profound

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a thinker he has come to be, is no more competent to make pronouncements in physics or biology without having qualified himself by first-hand researches in that field also than, contrariwise, is the scientist in the realms of religion and theology. The business of each is intelligently to follow, and if need be to question, the other's argument and evidence with a view to co-operation in building up a greater body of truth. Professor Trevelyan affirms, with regard to his own subject, what we have already touched upon as a general principle. "It is difficult to set bounds to the scope of history. It is concerned with every activity of man. Even if the sole end in view were to understand past politics—a dreary limitation—we should have first to study past economics, past religion, past jurisprudence, past social life and custom, for past politics were the mere outward form and flourish of these and many other activities of human life of old."

It is no doubt possible for a keen student to become a mere dabbler in a dozen departments of knowledge, with disastrous results to his own mentality and, if examples of his type are multiplied or if he acquires influence on other grounds among his fellows, to society. Indeed one is sometimes made to wonder whether narrow specialization is any worse an evil than superficiality and diffuseness. Many students would do better if they attended fewer classes, just as many have been warped in mind and narrowed in sympathy by being allowed to spend themselves on "the social sciences" without being encouraged to take a little interest also in literature or the arts, and vice versa. The essential point is, however, that having chosen his subject a man will find that it leads him to related interests and inquiries if only he will go deeply enough into it and follow out its implications faithfully. The co-ordination and grouping of studies will thus come about naturally, not on an artificial plan, while our principle that the desires of the student must come before the desirability of the subject will not work out in such a hopelessly anarchic fashion as might be feared.

This is the more so if two dangers are avoided. The

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first of these concerns the books a man uses: the second is a question of the intellectual company he keeps.

Text-books have their value, but for the solitary student or the group to rely upon a text-book is as though one should never get beyond the study of anatomy to that of physiology and biology. An educated man may be, either of choice or by force of circumstances, a man of few books, but the man of one book can hardly hope to become educated. Fortunately tutors are to an increasing extent refusing to prescribe any one book to their classes, except as a kind of ground plan indicating the compass of the work to be done and the inter-relation of its parts. The book-list, and behind it the library, are the proper provision for adult students, not, of course, with the expectation that each member of the group can or will read all the volumes mentioned in the list, but in order that each may choose, under guidance, those that appeal to him most, and out of his reflection upon these (or such portions of them as are relevant) may make his particular contribution to the common stock of fact and argument. It is the business of adult education to inspire people with a love of the atmosphere of books, while it keeps them alert to the pressure and significance of practical affairs.

Guidance has been mentioned and the word at once brings into prominence the function of the tutor, and the importance of entrusting leadership in adult education to men and women who have breadth and depth of mind as well as high competence in their special subjects. For the interdependence of all knowledge, the richness and variety of even a commonplace or abstract study when set against its proper background, the thoroughness which alone will preserve the adult student from the fate of either the dilettante or the pettifogging specialist, must be reflected in a person before the average student will perceive their attractiveness and their necessary character as educational first principles.

This thought issues naturally in a consideration of the second danger to a real humanism in adult education. It is generally admitted that the isolated student is at a great disadvantage, lacking that friction of thought

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with others which produces energy. But it is less often realized that the isolated class suffers in the same way if not to the same degree. Of course any group of students will contain within itself people who differ in politics, religion, social circumstances, mental development, temperament, special interests and innumerable other respects. But by hypothesis they have come together because for each economics, literature, science, or whatever the subject may be, has for one reason or another a predominant attraction. The risk is that it should assume in their minds a predominant importance. This can easily and successfully be overcome only as groups constantly intermingle with other groups at a common centre where the community life makes natural and inevitable a social and intellectual comradeship between types of people who would otherwise meet only those likeminded with themselves in attaching supreme significance to one path of inquiry. As we have seen, Beechcroft Educational Settlement was the first modern embodiment in England of this conception. The Report on *Pioneer Work* presented by the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education emphasizes the desirability of such centres for the common pursuit of educational interests by widely differing groups. But the principal reason is often overlooked. As Maurice understood when he urged that the new venture which he was to lead should be called a college and not an institute, there is far more involved than the creation of a social atmosphere which renders the idea and the experience of study more attractive. That can be accomplished, though in comparatively small measure, within the limits of the isolated class. The real issue is whether adult education shall have the character and spirit of a university, a republic where, as in religion, all that is finest and richest is caught, not taught. Without losing the necessary devotion to their own particular study, whether of political science, or of poetry, or of psychology, or of play-producing, each group begins to see the value of what the others are doing, and to discern the relationship between them all.

When we speak of a university spirit and university

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standards in adult education, then, we mean, or ought to mean, more than academic competence on the part of the tutor and the part played by a university in sending him forth as an extra-mural teacher—more even than the thoroughness and disinterestedness with which he and his students do their work. The conception must be extended to include this note of universality in the approach to any subject of study and in the treatment of it. For that reason it appears, to the writer at any rate, completely misleading to suggest that any isolated class can “aim at a standard approximately equal to that of university honours in the subject with which it is dealing.” For a university student, if he is sensitive to the atmosphere of a university and if he takes his share in the life of the place, must constantly feel that he is busying himself with only one little segment of truth, which can be understood only in its relationship to those others upon which his fellows are at work.

If we are to develop anything like a people's university, or to attain to the ideal of education set before us by Professor Whitehead, we must indeed widen the scope of adult studies and redress the balance of emphasis. We must also maintain a high standard of excellence. But we must not be blind to the fact that adult education must be more comprehensive than university education. It must teach many things which a university would not include within its purview and by methods which the university would never dream of adopting among undergraduates, and yet at the same time must maintain the ideals of which we have been speaking, and which we so naturally associate with university traditions.

Thus, for example, it is beyond question that multitudes of men and women will never learn much, if anything, from books. They are not built that way. They gain far more, æsthetically and intellectually, as well as socially and morally, by the use of their hands than by any other means. It will not do to brush aside handicrafts, hobbies, and other media of education which have been shown to possess such intrinsic value by the work of Women's Institutes, for example, or the London

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Men's Institutes, or the East London Art Club in Whitechapel which recently astonished the world by its exhibition of two hundred pictures painted by working men artists. For adult education must provide not only for the people who have had secondary and university education, or who would have profited by the alternative if it had fallen to their lot, but also for those who, if the highroad had been flung wide open, neither would nor could have set foot upon it. Yet, if a community is truly democratic, these are every whit as much needed in making up the common life as the others. They have as distinctive a contribution to make to the community's well being, happiness and progress. They cannot make that contribution unless they too attain in their own way to freedom and responsibility. Difference is not necessarily inferiority. Painting, music, drama, are recognized as methods of self-expression for which people must be prepared in a way quite other than that appropriate to the Law or the Church, trade or commerce, industry or agriculture. Why then should not those other forms of educative activity be regarded in a similar light? Terence uttered no apology when he wrote the oft quoted *Nihil humanum a me alienum puto*. Humanistic studies for men and women must surely include all that for them lends living a deeper significance and a more abiding joy, whichever of the senses or of the areas in the grey matter of the brain may happen to be the gateways whereby it finds entry.

CHAPTER IX

WANTING IS—WHAT?

IN view of all that we have said, certain outstanding needs are manifest in the growth of the adult education movement

Research is a word that is becoming robbed of its significance by too wide a use. Every little bit of investigation is dignified by the name. We employ it here, however, in its more austere meaning. Undoubtedly scientific study of what has been accomplished hitherto in adult education is urgently needed if we are to reap the due fruit of our experience. The psychology and philosophy of adult education, its social implications, principles of organization, methods of teaching—all these are awaiting patient and constructive study by experienced, scholarly, and withal humanistically-minded men and women set free for the purpose. It should be the business of universities to make provision for this, and to see that the work is not entrusted to dry-as-dust pedants or raw young academics, but to men and women in the prime of their powers, who have been and will remain in constant vivid contact with the men and women who educate, and are educated, in the actual movement, not in one country alone.

Experiment and yet more experiment is imperative. We cannot afford to admit that any particular type or method is in any sense final or sufficient. It is possible and desirable that many existing forms should bring within their influence ten or a hundred times as many men and women as are influenced by them to-day. We have come upon some perfectly magnificent ways of getting the job done—with certain people and in certain circumstances. But these are still susceptible of improvement. And when they have been utilized to the

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utmost there will remain vast multitudes of folk to whom they make not the least appeal. The spirit of adventure may be more naturally characteristic of voluntary organizations than of universities and statutory bodies. But it must be perpetually stimulated and sustained in the first, and must penetrate the others. The creeping paralysis of orthodoxy is all too subtle in its early stages. The repressive pride of the successful all too frequently stifles fresh and promising pioneer efforts which, in the nature of the case, cannot show evidence of success for a few years to come. A genuine welcome and a real chance must be given to every new sign of life, wherever and in whatever guise it appears.

Attention must especially be given to elementary and informal types of adult education. Insignificant and troublesome to the expert, these have a charm for the common man—he can appreciate them just because they are not elaborate and advanced. They meet him where he is, and do not demand that he shall take a long journey, or make a violent and unnatural effort, to reach them. They are the only recruiting ground for higher educational adventures on anything beyond the present small scale. But also they are the only ground wherein a very large number of people will ever find themselves at home at all.

Much adult education will never know itself as such, and will be recognized only by leaders and teachers of real insight. It will go on in clubs, churches, cinemas, theatres, concert rooms, trade unions, political societies, and in the homes of the people where there are books, newspapers, music, wireless sets, workshops, gardens—and groups of friends. But it will have its impetus in our more definitely organized agencies of education—Schools, Colleges and Universities, W.E.A. branches, Adult Schools, Women's Institutes, Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s and Settlements. The need is that these should realize the possibilities of it, and set themselves to foster it and minister to it.

Community centres of adult education should be a hundred times more widespread than they are now. Making provision for all forms of adult education, from

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the simplest to the most advanced, they attract all sorts of people who do not at first even realize that what they want is education: they only know that the life and atmosphere of such a place attracts them

Constant propaganda on behalf of adult education is desperately needed. If these chapters have appeared to assume that the populace is clamouring for adult education, the writer is under no illusion in this respect. The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of even sufficient riches to spend on dog-racing, the pictures, jazz, and other popular amusements choke the seed of cultural interests quickly enough. But human nature is not truly expressed or represented in these reactions to depressing conditions of life and work, or to sensational incitements to the mis-spending of leisure. The mischief is that education is not presented to people with sufficient conviction, vividness, or humour. We need prophets and apostles who know the hearts and lives of common men, as well as the delights and resources of that multi-form and inexhaustible thing called education.

Of personnel we have already spoken in a previous chapter. There is a dearth of the right kind of people for either voluntary or paid service in this field. Now that fees and salaries can be earned in the work of organizing adult education or teaching adult groups there is always the risk that mercenary or (in the less worthy sense) professional motives may emerge among those who cannot afford to give the necessary time without recompense. Without anything approaching materialism or baseness, men and women may look upon this as simply a job amidst other jobs, to be done as the price of sustenance. But so long as the remuneration remains as low as it is, the prospects so limited, and the tenure so insecure, it is unlikely that uninspired and calculating persons will regard adult education as an eligible calling. In point of fact very few full-time workers in this sphere at present, even if comparatively well-placed, are earning half as much as they would be capable of doing in other departments of education, in some other profession altogether, or in business. Most of them are without the expectation of any pension, and without either the spare

time or the superfluous energy to add to their incomes in other ways. Part-time workers are of course better off, unless they have neither regular employment elsewhere nor private resources: but the work demands freshness and concentration, so that part-time participants should be sufficiently well paid for what they do to make it feasible for them to accept less than full-time posts and pay concurrently elsewhere.

It is imperative that people paid to render service, and especially whole time service, in adult education should be relieved at least of undue poverty at present and of anxiety regarding the future. Sacrifices may be very cheerfully made, and often it is the men and women who are not excessively at ease in Zion who exhibit the finest qualities as teachers and leaders. But it is fatal to exploit them, for unless their minds are reasonably free of bread and butter worries they cannot throw themselves without reserve into the lives of other people, and if they cannot enjoy an ordinary measure of physical and cultural satisfaction they can hardly accumulate an abundance of mental and spiritual possessions from which to enrich others. They themselves commonly think very little about this side of things, partly because they are so much absorbed in the work which makes such continuous demands upon them and brings them so much happiness, but also, perhaps, in part because they dare not let themselves dwell upon the risks and disabilities they are incurring both for themselves and for those dependent upon them. There is the more reason, therefore, why those responsible for appointing and maintaining them should keep themselves well informed of the facts, and take in good time the necessary measures for dealing with the situation. Britain has already been disgraced by the conditions under which she has allowed so many of her clergy and ministers, and till lately her elementary teachers, to carry out their high task. She cannot afford to repeat the mistake in respect of this new vocation. And what is true of Britain is true of many other countries also.

In isolated cases, such as that of the London Working Men's College, a fine tradition of wholly voluntary

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service has been maintained, but it is of no use to shirk the fact that adult education, by and large, cannot be carried on efficiently without a considerable and increasing nucleus of people who are set free to devote themselves body and soul to the enterprise by receiving the necessary payment. Nor should this be regarded as an evil, any more than it is in universities or the civil service. The antidote to professionalism is the enthusiasm of humanity, and unless the whole adult education movement alters radically and unexpectedly it has enough of this to inspire all who share actively in it.

On the other hand there remains a need for voluntary service which ought immensely to increase, and to call out in those who render it qualities as fine as those of the finest whole-time organizers and tutors. Apart altogether from the impossibility of raising and maintaining a sufficient force of full-time workers to meet the need, nothing could be more disastrous to the vitality and richness of the movement than that it should come to depend upon the exertions of those whose only job, paid or unpaid, it is. In this lies one of the characteristic differences between adult education and all other parts of the educational system. The point is not that teachers and officials employed by schools, colleges, and universities do only as much as they are paid to do, for the reverse is notoriously true: much of their best work is and must be unpaid. But adult education is successful only in the degree to which it is integrated with the common life of the community, with the diverse interests of the persons who make up that community, with the differing groups into which for a hundred reasons they form themselves. If it is to touch life at all points the adult education movement must have within it, among its most active members, people who genuinely represent those various aspects and organizations of life. They must be in it not only as students primarily set upon gaining fresh treasures of knowledge and thought, but also as responsible leaders and workers, giving to it their experience and their energy, helping to share and direct it, serving as supremely effective missionaries for it among those whom they meet every day in quite other

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spheres of activity. They must be the friendly and constructive critics of its aims and methods. They must be its ardent and sympathetic advocates among those of their friends and colleagues who would never respond to any advance made from outside their particular world of ideas and occupations.

Finance is ever a thorny topic of discussion and often a rather dreary burden in practice. But experience shows that it need be neither, if it is treated as a matter of formulating and applying certain principles on the one hand, and on the other as a side of all educational enterprise from which a good deal of enjoyment and a very real bond of fellowship may be gained if the responsibility is properly shared.

One of the results of distributing wealth in the way which prevails practically throughout the world to-day is that only rich people can afford to pay for any education that is reasonably to be called adequate, whether for their children or for themselves. It has therefore come to be regarded as axiomatic that no form of education can ever be financially self-supporting, and by the usual swing of the pendulum it is widely maintained that education of all kinds should be free to all citizens, the cost being met by the State.

It is certainly true that the fees which most adult students can afford to pay will not amount to a tithe of what, on a most economical basis, it costs to provide them with the facilities they certainly should have. But that is no reason for pauperizing the student, and while no student ought to be denied education because, by no fault of his own, he is poor, there is much to be said for seeing to it that students do actually contribute in accordance with their capacity. When the matter is fairly put to them they respond readily—and often to the point of considerable sacrifice—while also working class groups, accustomed to the century-old tradition of corporate action in politics and industry, frequently find it both easier and more congenial to make contributions out of their common funds than to increase their individual payments.

When the students have done what they can it is

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for the community, acting through its organs of local and national government, to play its part. This is recognized in the British educational system so far as primary, and to some extent secondary, technical, and university education are concerned. It needs fuller recognition, not merely as a matter of principle but as one of practical action, in the case of adult education. To lay down, without adequate discussion, the proportion in which the cost should be met from voluntary sources, rates, and taxes, or the administrative arrangements that should be adopted, would be arbitrary and misleading. But the principle of partnership must be insisted upon, and it is further to be observed that while the Board of Education has made notable increases in its expenditure on adult education during the last few years, and certain Local Education Authorities have pursued a very generous policy, there will have to be a much deeper dipping into the public purse than even the most liberal President or the most progressive L.E.A. has yet contemplated, if the movement is not to be starved, and those Local Authorities which at present do little or nothing must by some means be aroused to fulfil their obligations under the Education Act. The proportion of its budget devoted by the most generous of the Authorities, and even by the Board itself, to adult education is still ridiculously small. It is more than a duty under the Act: it is a matter of wise statesmanship and of plain common-sense that a considerable part of the public funds should be spent upon enfranchising the minds of the people, and making them capable of exercising with sound judgment and a fine sense of values the power put into their hands by a democratic constitution of national and local government. The State cannot afford to be miserly in its appropriation of money towards a service which, more than any other that it provides, ensures the stability and the strength of a people. If it be said that war, and the debts consequent upon either victory or defeat, armaments, industrial conflict, and other destructive factors in the life of a nation eat up her financial resources, and that if these liabilities must be incurred it is inevitable that she should spend twice

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or three times as much upon the maintenance of fleet, army, and air force as upon education of all kinds, the reply is obvious. Her sole insurance against all this prodigality of waste is at all costs to spend more upon feeding the nation, mentally and spiritually, so that as a people we may grow up indeed, and grow out of obsessions, fears, suspicions, crudities and materialisms which belong to the childhood of the race, not to its maturity. And if it be said that necessary expenditure, national or local, upon making the nation prosperous prevents expenditure that would make it wise and cultured, there is but one answer unless we can learn how to use our wealth nobly, the fruits of our toil will turn out to be apples of Sodom, and until we have acquired the moral and spiritual qualities needed for the control and direction of power our might will be the engine of our own destruction. The money is there for adult education, but it is being misused for the bedevilment of our national life.

So far as universities are concerned, until they have the vision to make new adventures and to conceive large policies in extra-mural work they will not obtain the financial resources for it. But it would be well if the Government, in determining its grants to them, required that a minimum part of such grants be devoted to extra-mural work, as in the case of the grants now made to Oxford and Cambridge.

Even when all these resources have been enlarged and exhausted, however, there will still be a deficit to be covered. Educational Trusts have in certain instances rendered splendid service at this point in recent years. It may be suggested to people of wealth that they would be well advised to found similar Trusts, under broad Trust-deeds, which should be administered by small but experienced and liberal-minded bodies of trustees, with competent and forward-looking secretaries to assist them in both framing and executing carefully considered policies. The effect of the encouragement given by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust to the development of County Library Schemes and Rural Community Councils is a striking illustration of the possibilities in this direction.

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But the function of such Trusts would appear to be primarily the assistance in their early stages of pioneer ventures upon which public funds cannot justifiably be spent until their permanent value has been proved and the desirability of extending them over a wide area of the national life demonstrated. Assistance to individual students going up to Colleges and Universities is another special feature of Trust work, as is the financing of inquiries and reports which are more suitably carried out by voluntary bodies than by public authorities. Dr. Keppel, of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, has given us an admirable brief sketch of the principles that should guide Trusts in formulating their policy, and he emphasizes co-operation between Trusts, Universities, and established Voluntary Organizations in the choice of undertakings to receive support of this kind.

Questions of freedom arise in this connection. Extremists such as those who dictate the policy of the Labour Colleges profess that to accept public or Trust money involves the surrender of independence. But the time is past when Government Departments or Local Authorities can demand compliance with any but the most general conditions of efficiency and freedom from sectarian or party domination. They no longer desire to do so, if we except some Authorities which are merely seeking a cloak for their misnamed "economies." So, too, Trusts, though they may be handling money made under the system of capitalism, are not under the thumb of individual capitalists or groups of capitalists. The money is insulated by the very foundation of the Trust and the composition of the Board of Trustees. Naturally neither public money nor trust funds can be given to propagandists for the advancement of partisan interests, and it would appear that the extremists already mentioned are making a virtue of necessity in vaunting their "independence."

It would help matters considerably if public funds could more freely be placed at the disposal of bodies which desire to set men and women of proved capacity and integrity free to plan and carry out their work in whatever way may be most suited to the circumstances,

and which are prepared to take responsibility for the programmes and standards of such men and women. Local Authorities are doing this increasingly and receive half their expenditure, incurred in this way, from the Board of Education. But the Board itself still adheres to the plan of making grants only in respect of separate classes which comply with the existing Regulations.

Such is the general situation regarding the financial needs of adult education in England and the possibilities of meeting them. Parallels may doubtless be found in other countries. An interesting characteristic of Danish High Schools is that, while they are practically all privately owned, the Government makes substantial subventions to them without any specific conditions or regulations. They are regarded as an asset of great value to the national life, and, as such, well worth preservation from weakening. There is no real basis of comparison between this and Government grants to universities in Great Britain, but there is a superficial resemblance. In America, as everyone knows, Educational Trusts are both relatively more numerous and obviously far more wealthy than elsewhere, but Dr Keppel, in the essay to which reference has already been made, speaks of the probability that in future many more small Trusts will be established, and points to the advantages of this.

We have touched briefly upon some of the pressing needs of adult education—research, experiment, advocacy, community centres for diverse kinds of work, corporate life, leadership, voluntary service, public and private financial aid. There are others hardly less urgent. But none are likely to be satisfied save as mingled idealism and common-sense take stronger hold of us all. “We needs must love the highest when we see it.” Love is the fountainhead of sacrifice, service, discipline, adventure. So we are brought back to the question, what is the goal of adult education? What is blazoned on our standards and aflame in our minds and hearts as we go forward? To what vision are we seeking to direct men’s eyes?

CHAPTER X

" FULLY ADULT "

MR. H. G. WELLS ends the Sixth Book of *The World of William Clissold* with a chapter entitled " Fully Adult." In it he says " The attainment of the World Republic and the attainment of the fully adult life are the general and the particular aspects of one and the same reality Each conditions the other . . . We shall be man in common and immortal in common, and each one of us will develop his own individuality to the utmost, no longer as a separated and conflicting being but as a part and contribution to one continuing whole."

Directly we attempt to define the ultimate hope and purpose of adult education we find ourselves in that country of the mind where young men see visions and old men dream dreams We can stimulate each other to thought and effort, but each must describe the goal as he sees it for himself, and none will ever be quite satisfied with any attempt to put it into words In the nature of the case there can be no finality for us in such a quest. Yet, unless the whole universe is hopelessly irrational, our characteristically human visions and dreams must have some correspondence with reality We may be unable to say in set terms what adult education, the process of fostering complete growth in personalities which are by nature social, implies, or precisely to what end it should be directed. If we ask " When does a man become fully adult? When is his education complete? " the only true answer is " Never while he lives." But as we go on learning and working together we become daily more sure of the qualities that are essential to the whole process, both in ourselves as individuals and in the manifold aspects of that ineluctable corporate life which we call human society. We

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begin to discern what an educated man and an educated people must be

Professor Robert Peers writes in *The Schools of England* concerning adult education. “Its business is to help the mature student to weave the isolated bits of knowledge into the web of his experience, to find for himself a philosophy of life and a harmonious way of living, and to make the best contribution of which he is capable to the common life” There all the distinctive notes of lifelong education are struck—knowledge, experience, wisdom, harmony, the giving of self in service. All of them are rooted in the practical affairs of ordinary men and women Each of them reaches out into the infinite. They are meaningless apart from the growth and the activities of the individual personality They are impossible unless that personality is in perpetual living relationship to the whole—the whole of truth and the whole of life, immediate reality and ultimate.

The aim, then, is a philosophy and a way of living, an insight and a joyous purpose, with some power of achieving it The method is a discipline and a fellowship, a training of the mind and a quickening of human sympathies And there are many whose experience harmonizes with that described by Mr Middleton Murry, in *Things to Come*. Gaining light from many quarters, yet finding the fullness of truth in none, he became convinced that a man’s intellectual and spiritual growth must be reckoned in terms of approximation to wholeness—a conception so finely worked out in the scientific and philosophical interpretation of man and the universe given us by General Smuts in *Holism and Evolution* But Mr Murry goes further even than General Smuts, and his words awaken response in men and women throughout the world

“If it can be put into a word, this is the fundamental distinction between the teaching of Jesus and all other religious wisdom that I know that He taught not goodness, but *wholeness* and this both in the inward man, and in the outward world Wholeness in the man himself means that the soul is not a partial faculty of man; it is not something that can be opposed to and distin-

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guished from mind and heart it is a creation which includes both these within itself. The soul is simply the condition of the complete man. And to this completeness in the man, which is his soul, there corresponds a completeness and harmony of the world of his experience; it also, without abstraction or denial of any of its elements, suffers a like transformation and becomes organic, harmonious—it becomes God.”

A SHORT LIST OF BOOKS ON ADULT EDUCATION

(Rare and out-of-print books are not mentioned here, nor are books published only in languages other than English. Information respecting the latter may be obtained from The World Association for Adult Education, 16 Russell Square, London, W C 1)

- AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, *The Libraries and Adult Education* Macmillan (1926) 10s 6d net.
- BECTRUP, HOLGER, with HANS LUND and PETER MANNICHE *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community* Oxford University Press (1926) 6s net
- BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION, *The New Ventures in Broadcasting A Study in Adult Education* B B C (1928) 1s net
- DOBBS, A E *Education and Social Movements, 1700-1850* Longmans, Green (1919) 10s 6d net
- DOVER WILSON, J *The Schools of England* Sidgwick & Jackson (1928) 18s net
- DRAPER, W H *University Extension, 1873-1923* Cambridge University Press (1923) 3s 6d net
- FISHER, DOROTHY CANFIELD *Why Stop Learning?* Harcourt, Brace (1927) 9s 6d net
- HART, JOSEPH K *Adult Education* Thomas Y Crowell Company (1927) \$2 75 net
- HODGEN, MARGARET T *Workers' Education in England and the United States* Kegan Paul (1925) 12s 6d net
- HORRABIN, J E and WINIFRED *Working Class Education* Labour Publishing Co (1924) 1s net
- JACKA, HILDA T *A Mind for the Kingdom* Edinburgh House Press (1928) 1s 6d net
- LINDEMAN, EDWARD C *The Meaning of Adult Education* New York New Republic, Inc \$1 00 net
- MANCHESTER, THE BISHOP OF, and Others *The Teaching Church A Handbook of Adult Religious Education* S P C K (1928) 3s 6d net
- MANSBRIDGE, ALBERT *An Adventure in Working Class Education* Longmans, Green (1920) 6s net
- MARTIN, EVERETT DEAN *The Meaning of a Liberal Education* W W Norton & Company (1926) \$3 00 net
- MARTIN, G CURRIE *The Adult School Movement Its Origin and Development* National Adult School Union (1924) 3s 6d net
- PARRY, R ST JOHN, and Others *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education* Cambridge University Press (1920) 12s 6d net
- PEPPER, NATHANIEL *New Schools for Older Students* Macmillan (1926) 10s 6d. net
- POVAT, J. W (Ed) *Students and the Faith The Call of Church Tutorial Classes* Longmans, Green (1928) 3s net
- PRICE, T W *The Story of the Workers' Educational Association, 1903-1924* Labour Publishing Co (1924) 1s net
- ROBERTSON SCOTT, J W *The Story of the Women's Institutes Movement in England and Scotland and Wales* The Village Press, Idbury, Kingham, Oxford (1925) 6s. net